

ROMAN
SARCOPHAGI
in The Metropolitan
Museum of Art

ANNA MARGUERITE McCANN

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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To my husband

Robert Dorsett Taggart

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Preface

In 1890 the first volume of the corpus of ancient sarcophagi, which began with a study of the mythological cycles, appeared, edited by Carl Robert. Upon his death the work was continued by G. Rodenwaldt, and later volumes have been added by A. Rumpf, R. Herbig, M. Wegner, and most recently by F. Matz. The vast amount of material has been organized according to subject matter, which has largely conditioned the studies by other scholars. A notable exception has been the work of F. Cumont, who has focused on the symbolic meaning of the subjects used on sarcophagi. Over the years an enormous body of material has been gathered, but there is still lacking a comprehensive book on the material as a whole, dealing with both the iconography and the style of sarcophagi. We also are lacking scholarly catalogues of some of the important museum collections. This study of the Metropolitan Museum's collection attempts to fill one of these gaps. It is directed both to the general reader and the visitor to the Museum's collection and to the scholar. The Introduction has been written primarily for the general reader who wishes to place the subject in perspective and to glance at the development of Roman sarcophagi as a whole. The Catalogue is intended to be used by both the visitor who wishes a more thorough guide to the individual pieces and the scholar who seeks further bibliography and comparative material. The Catalogue is arranged by subject, following the helpful suggestion of B. Andreae. A chronological sequence of the monuments is appended on p. 151. The following studies are suggested for the reader who wishes more general background on the subject.

- G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951)
 K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1942)
 F. Matz, "Sarcophagi," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* (Rome, 1966) VII
 E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964) 23-38

- H. Sichtermann and G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen* (Tübingen, 1975)
 D. E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture* (London, 1961) 46-50, 53-55, 65-72
 J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971)
 J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934) "Mythological Sarcophagi," 164-201; "Decorative Sarcophagi," 202-230

For interpretation of motifs and ideas:

- F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris, 1942)
 J. Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire* (Ithaca, 1970) 132-149

For discussion of the marble trade in antiquity:

- J. B. Ward Perkins, "Roman Garland Sarcophagi from the Quarries of Proconnesus (Marmara)," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (1957) 455-467

I owe special thanks to the late Professor Marion Lawrence, who generously shared her knowledge with me throughout the study and has also read the manuscript. Also, Professor Bernard Andreae kindly read the manuscript and has offered many helpful suggestions. To Mr. John Ward Perkins I am indebted for help in the identification of the marbles with me in New York (by visual analysis only) and for many helpful ideas. Dr. Hellmut Sichtermann of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome has especially aided in the collecting of photographs for comparative study (it is this institute that is the source for illustrations credited to the German Archaeological Institute, unless otherwise stated in the captions). Finally, I should like to thank Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer for originally suggesting the topic to me and for reading the manuscript, which was completed for publication in the winter of 1976.

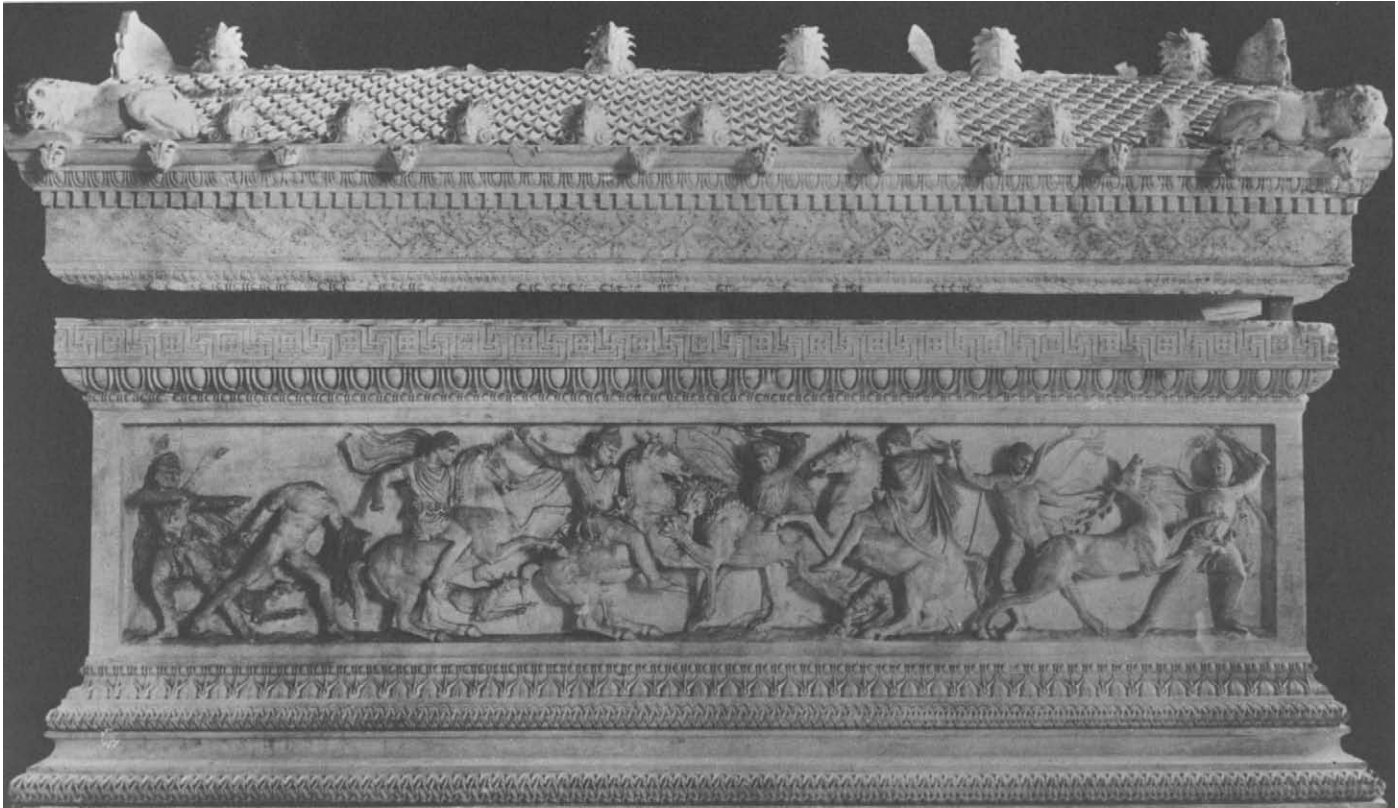
List of Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>	Brunn—Körte	E. Brunn and G. Körte, <i>I rilievi delle urne etrusche</i> , 3 vols. (Rome—Berlin, 1870–1916)
AbhMainz	<i>Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftl. Klasse</i>	BullComm	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	Chéhab	M. Chéhab, “Sarcophages en plomb du Musée National Libanais,” <i>Syria</i> , 15 (1934)
Alexander	C. Alexander, “Unpublished Fragments of Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” <i>Metropolitan Museum Studies</i> , 3 (1930–1931) 38–46	CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
Altmann	W. Altmann, <i>Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage</i> (Berlin, 1902)	CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
ArtB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>	Charbonneaux	J. Charbonneaux, <i>Hellenistic Art</i> (New York, 1973)
Avi-Yonah, QDAP	M. Avi-Yonah, “Lead Coffins from Palestine,” <i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i> , 4 (1934) 87–99; 138–153	Collignon, Essai	M. Collignon, <i>Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe de Psyché</i> (Paris, 1877)
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>	Cumont	F. Cumont, <i>Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains</i> (Paris, 1942)
BdA	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>	Curtius	L. Curtius, <i>Die Wandmalerei Pompejis</i> (Leipzig, 1929)
Bainchi Bandinelli	R. Bianchi Bandinelli, <i>Rome. The Center of Power</i> (New York, 1970)	CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
Bieber	M. Bieber, <i>The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age</i> (New York, 1955)	Daremberg—Saglio	Ch. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines</i> , 4 vols. (Paris, 1877–1919)
BMBeyrouth	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>	Deichmann et al.	F. W. Deichmann, G. Bovini, and H. Brandenburg, <i>Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage</i> , I, <i>Rom und Ostia</i> (Wiesbaden, 1967)
BMMA	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>	EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale</i>
Borda	M. Borda, <i>Monumenti archaeologici tuscolani nel Castello di Agliè</i> (Rome, 1943)	Gerke	F. Gerke, <i>Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1940)
Bothmer	D. von Bothmer, <i>Amazons in Greek Art</i> (Oxford, 1957)	Gütschow	M. Gütschow, <i>Das Museum der Praetextat-Katakombe</i> , <i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i> , ser. III, iv, part 2 (Rome, 1938)
Bozzo	C. Dufour Bozzo, <i>Sarcophagi romani a Genova</i> , <i>Quaderni dell'istituto di storia dell'arte della Università di Genova</i> , 5 (Milan, 1967)	Hanfmann, Season Sarcophagus	G. M. A. Hanfmann, <i>The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1951)
Brilliant	R. Brilliant, <i>The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum</i> , <i>MAAR</i> , 29 (Rome, 1967)	Hanfmann, Roman Art	G. M. A. Hanfmann, <i>Roman Art</i> (Greenwich, Conn., 1964)
Brommer ³	F. Brommer, <i>Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage</i> , 3rd ed. (Marburg, 1973)		

Havelock	C. Havelock, <i>Hellenistic Art</i> (Greenwich, Conn., 1971)	MélUSJ	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth</i>
Helbig ⁴	K. F. W. Helbig (ed. H. Speier), <i>Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom</i> , 4th ed., 4 vols. (Tübingen, 1963–1972)	Mendel	G. Mendel, <i>Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines (Musées impériaux ottomans)</i> , 3 vols. (Constantinople, 1912–1914)
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des [k.] deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>	Morey	C. R. Morey, <i>The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi</i> . Sardis. Publications of the American Society for the Excavations of Sardis, vol. V, part 1 (Princeton, 1924)
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	Müfid	A. Müfid, "Die Bleisarkophage im Antikenmuseum zu Istanbul," <i>AA</i> , 47 (1932) 387–446
JOAI	<i>Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts</i>	Mustilli	D. Mustilli, <i>Il Museo Mussolini</i> (Rome, 1939)
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>	Nock	A. D. Nock, "Sarcophagi and Symbolism," <i>AJA</i> , 50 (1946) 140–170
Jones	H. Stuart Jones, <i>A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori</i> (Oxford, 1926)	NSc	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i>
Kaschnitz-Weinberg	G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, <i>Sculture del maggazzino del Museo Vaticano</i> (Rome, 1937)	OCD	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>
Lehmann—Olsen	K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. Olsen, <i>Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore</i> (Baltimore, 1942)	Panofsky	E. Panofsky, <i>Tomb Sculpture</i> (New York, 1964)
Lippold	G. Lippold, <i>Antike Gemäldekopien</i> (Munich, 1951)	Pietrogrande	A. L. Pietrogrande, "Sarcofago policromo con rappresentazione bacchica," <i>BullComm</i> , 60 (1933) 177–215
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>	Pinney	M. Pinney, "Miscellaneous Greek and Roman Sculptures," <i>BMAA</i> , 19 (1924) 239–243
Marrou	H. I. Marrou, <i>Mousikos . . . Etude sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains</i> (Paris, 1938)	Poulsen	F. Poulsen, <i>Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek</i> (Copenhagen, 1951)
Mattingly, BMC	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1950–1968)	RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
Matz, Dionys. Sarkophage	F. Matz, <i>Die dionysischen Sarkophage</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. IV, parts 1–4 (Berlin, 1968–1975)	RE	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1893 to present)
Matz, Röm. Meisterwerk	F. Matz, <i>Ein römisches Meisterwerk. Der Jahreszeitensarkophag Badminton—New York</i> , <i>JdI Ergänzungsheft</i> , 19 (Berlin, 1958)	Redlich	R. Redlich, <i>Die Amazonensarkophage des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.</i> , Schriften zur Kunst des Altertums, IV (Berlin, 1942)
MdI	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>	Reinach	S. Reinach, <i>Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1909–1912)
McCann	A. M. McCann, <i>The Portraits of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211)</i> , <i>MAAR</i> , 30 (Rome, 1968)	RendPontAcc	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti</i>
McClees—Alexander	H. McClees and C. Alexander, <i>The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans</i> (New York, 1941)	Reschke	E. Reschke, "Römische Sarkophagkunst zwischen Gallienus und Konstantin dem Grossen" in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, <i>Die Araber in der alten Welt</i> , III (Berlin, 1966) 307–416
Meischner	J. Meischner, <i>Das Frauenporträt der Severerzeit</i> (Berlin, 1964)	Richmond	I. A. Richmond, <i>Archaeology and the After-Life in Pagan and Christian Imagery</i> (Oxford, 1950)
MélMansel	<i>Mélanges Mansel</i> (Ankara, 1974)	Richter, Bronzes	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes</i> , The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1915)
MélRome	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome</i>		

Richter, <i>Furniture</i>	G. M. A. Richter, <i>The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans</i> (London, 1966)	Sichtermann	H. Sichtermann, <i>Späte Endymion-Sarkophag</i> , Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 19 (Baden-Baden, 1966)
Richter, <i>Handbook</i> (1917) (1927) (1930)	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Handbook of the Classical Collection</i> , The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1917, 1927, and 1930)	Sichtermann—Koch	H. Sichtermann and G. Koch, <i>Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen</i> (Tübingen, 1975)
Richter, <i>Roman Portraits</i>	G. M. A. Richter, <i>Roman Portraits</i> , The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1958)	D. Strong	D. Strong, <i>Roman Imperial Sculpture</i> (London, 1961)
Richter, <i>Sculpture</i>	G. M. A. Richter, <i>The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks</i> (New Haven, 1970)	Stuveras	R. Stuveras, “Le putto dans l’art romain,” <i>Collection Latomus</i> , 99 (1969)
Ridgway	B. S. Ridgway, <i>Catalogue of the Classical Collection. Classical Sculpture</i> , Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, R.I., 1972)	Toynbee, <i>Art of the Romans</i>	J. M. C. Toynbee, <i>The Art of the Romans</i> (New York, 1965)
RM	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung</i>	Toynbee, <i>Hadr.</i>	J. M. C. Toynbee, <i>The Hadrianic School</i> (Cambridge, 1934)
Robert	C. Robert, ed., <i>Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs</i> , im Auftrage des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, vols. II–III, parts 1–3 (Berlin, 1890–1919)	Turcan	R. Turcan, <i>Les Sarkophages romains à représentations dionysiaques</i> (Paris, 1966)
Roscher, <i>Mythol. Lex.</i>	H. W. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> , 6 vols. in 9, supplements 1–4 (Leipzig, 1884–1937)	Wegner	M. Wegner, <i>Die Musensarkophag</i> , Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. V, part 3 (Berlin, 1966)
Ryberg	I. S. Ryberg, <i>Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art</i> , <i>MAAR</i> , 22 (Rome, 1955)	Wiggers	H. B. Wiggers, <i>Caracalla, Geta, Plautilla</i> , Das römische Herrscherbild, vol. III, part 1 (Berlin, 1971)
		Wilpert	G. Wilpert, <i>I sarcofagi cristiani antichi</i> , 3 vols. (Rome, 1929–1936)

Introduction



1. “Alexander” sarcophagus. Late fourth century B.C.
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum

FROM EARLIEST times the mortal remains of man have been treated in two different ways, by cremation or inhumation. In the ancient Mediterranean world sometimes one method was characteristic of a certain culture or period, while at other times, as today, both practices existed side by side depending on family preference, tradition, or special circumstances. In cremation, the ashes of the dead were generally contained in a small cinerary urn. In inhumation the body, when not laid directly in a simple grave, was put in a coffin or sarcophagus made of wood, terracotta, lead, or stone. The place of burial in either case could be indicated by a simple grave marker, an upright slab (a *stèle*) or pillar of stone. In Greece, the use of sculptured grave monuments first appeared in Attica in the sixth century B.C. and, after an interruption, was introduced afresh at the end of the fifth century B.C., continuing into the

fourth. These beautiful stelai, which became widespread in the Greek world among the aristocratic class, are among the Greeks’ finest artistic achievements. Indeed, such expense was lavished upon them that decrees in Attica prohibiting their production were passed at the end of the sixth century and again at the end of the fourth. We may still appreciate the way in which the Greeks commemorated their dead with quiet dignity from the stelai in the Museum’s rich collection. Sometimes a single figure was used, such as in a stele from Paros of a young girl holding her pet doves from the mid-fifth century (acc. no. 27.45); at other times, a family relationship is commemorated by a gentle clasping of hands between the deceased and his loved ones, symbolizing their union in a world beyond the grave (acc. no. 59.11.27).

Contemporary with the evolution of grave stelai and carved



2. *Greek sarcophagus from Cyprus. Late sixth century B.C.* MMA, The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 74.51.2453

3. *Greek sarcophagus from Cyprus. First half of the fifth century B.C.*
MMA, The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 74.51.2451



cinerary urns in Attica, the wealthier Greeks in the eastern areas of the Mediterranean developed the decoration of stone sarcophagi. Plain, purely functional coffins had long been used by the poorer classes. Expensive decorated sarcophagi made chiefly of marble, sometimes of other types of stone such as limestone, granite, or porphyry, largely began in the Greek East during the late classical period and continued throughout Hellenistic times (fig. 1). Lead sarcophagi with stamped decorations were also popular among the middle classes and were less expensive. The sarcophagus form was not new, for imposing decorated coffins had been earlier much used in the ancient Near East and in Egypt. But the Greeks developed new types and motifs that were to be passed on to the Roman world. In the Greek cities of Asia Minor, as in other cultures, the custom was to bury the dead outside the city limits, and the larger sarcophagi often stood out in the open along a street within the necropolis or within a precinct. In Rome and the West the custom was rather to place the sarcophagus within a sepulchre to serve as a worthy offering to the deceased in the cult worship of the dead.

The sarcophagi of the classical world vary in shape from simple, rectangular forms to larger, round-ended types. In the Greek East elaborate imitations of architectural forms were also adopted, and lids with gabled roofs and columnar friezes for the main relief panels were common. The Museum possesses two fine early examples in limestone of the Eastern architectural type from Cyprus, an island where Eastern and Western art forms mingled. The earlier of the two, from the later part of the sixth century B.C. (fig. 2), is especially elaborate and shows orientalizing motifs dominating the Greek. The monumental gabled lid is crowned by *acroteria* of palmettes and guardian sphinxes. Traces of bright colors still visible in both the figural frieze and architectural moldings help us visualize its ancient splendor and remind us that color was originally an important element in the decoration of the details on ancient sarcophagi. The other sarcophagus, from Golgoi, is smaller and less elaborate (fig. 3) but of finer quality and of prime importance for the study of the subject matter of funerary art. The long, low relief panels portray subjects well known to us from Greek art: on one side a banquet scene and on the other a hunt. These subjects may be traced back to the Assyrian world, but the sarcophagus reminds us that it is through Greek art that they were passed on to the West.

A mixture of Eastern and Western influences may also be observed in the development of a special "anthropoid" sarcophagus type, whose origin may be traced back to Ptolemaic Egypt. These Egyptian, mummy-shaped sarcophagi spread to other parts of the Mediterranean and are known in Phoenicia



4. Greek "anthropoid" sarcophagus from Cyprus. Late fifth or early fourth century B.C.

MMA, The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 74.51.2452



5. *Etruscan canopic urn. Seventh or sixth century B.C.*
MMA, Purchase, 96.9.50

in the royal tombs of Sidon. The Metropolitan possesses three Hellenized examples of this form that have the heads carved in the Greek classical style (acc. nos. 74.51.2454, 11.54, fragment; and fig. 4).

In Italy the Etruscans, who were the dominant power before the Romans, practiced both cremation and inhumation throughout their history. They left us many varied forms of cinerary urns and sarcophagi in stone or terracotta. Their imaginative funerary art may be appreciated in the Museum's collection, which includes examples of both terracotta "canopic" funerary jars, popular in the seventh and sixth centuries with covers in the form of human heads (fig. 5), and finely decorated bronze *cistae* (for example, acc. no. 22.84.1), cylindrical receptacles used in later periods either as toilet boxes or as cinerary urns. But the most distinctive burial form developed by the Etruscans, and one that passed from them to the Greek and Roman world, was the convention of placing a



6. *Etruscan funerary urn. Late fourth or early third century B.C.*
MMA, Purchase, 96.9.225

reclining effigy of the deceased upon the lid of a sarcophagus or urn. The Museum possesses a number of late examples on cinerary urns where the Etruscans' love of expressive realism, often crudely rendered, can be appreciated. One carved in alabaster from the late fourth or early third century shows a typical, ample Etruscan lady holding her fan, reclining upon the lid (fig. 6).

IT IS THIS dual heritage from the Greek East and Etruria that the Romans drew upon in the development of their own funerary art. During the Republic and the first century A.D., the Romans generally cremated their dead. Cinerary urns placed in *columbaria*, subterranean vaults provided with rows of small niches, were in wide use. The more wealthy had their ashes placed in decorated chests, placed either out of doors or inside family sepulchres. Places of burial were also marked by carved stelai, decorated altars, or larger mausolea for the most wealthy.

The Museum's collection contains some superior examples of both funerary reliefs and commemorative altars. For example, a finely carved marble grave altar decorated with rams' heads, garlands, swans, and a dedicatory inscription to A. Fabius Diogenes and Fabia Primigenia, a freedman and woman (ex-slaves), is typical (fig. 7). Others are carved with portraits of the dead, such as that on a four-sided altar inscribed to Cominia Tyche (fig. 8), which can be dated by her hair style in the Flavian period (A.D. 69–96). It is one of the best of its kind. Roman grave reliefs also use portraiture, and the earlier idealized style of the Augustan age is sensitively portrayed in two heads of a mother and daughter from the same tomb relief

7. *Roman grave altar of A. Fabius Diogenes and Fabia Primigenia. Julio-Claudian, first century*
MMA, Fletcher Fund, 25.78.29



(acc. no. 18.145.16 and fig. 9). The earliest portrait from a grave relief in the Museum's collection is that of an older man of the late Republican period, the second half of the first century B.C. (fig. 10). The wrinkled skin with its linear organizational scheme relates it to earlier Etruscan funerary portraits. The powerful realism also may in part have its source in the old Roman practice of making wax images of the dead to be carried in the funeral procession and used in ancestor worship.

What is so striking in the Roman development of funerary art is that except for a few isolated forerunners, sarcophagi do not begin until the second century A.D. The sudden reappearance in the second century of elaborately decorated stone sar-

8. *Roman grave altar of Cominia Tyche (69–96)*
MMA, Gift of Philip Hofer, 38.27





9. *Head of a woman from a funerary relief. Augustan, first century*
MMA, Rogers Fund, 18.145.16

cophagi for the upper classes is so startling, and the concomitant practice of inhumation becomes so widespread, that it has caused much discussion among scholars. Various theories have been offered to explain the new use of sarcophagi and the shift in burial practices. Because their revival is so extensive, beginning in the later part of the reign of the emperor Hadrian (117–137), it has been suggested that their production was prompted by imperial taste and was part of Hadrian's interest in classical forms. We know that the sculptural workshops of Rome at that time attracted artists from Asia Minor, who must have brought new ideas with them. Artistic considerations may in part explain this change, but concern with inhumation of the body and the wish to honor it with a more sumptuous and lasting home must reflect more than a change in fashion and taste. By the mid-second century, a deepening belief in a life beyond the grave seems to have led to an increased interest in the care of the dead and to a desire for more elaborate personal memorials. There was no apparent change at this time in the pagan state religion that might account for the shift from cremation to inhumation; the growing belief, however, in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, emphasized especially by the oriental mystery cults and Christianity, both of which had greatly gained in popularity in the first century, would have provided a strong impetus. Interment of the dead within a stone sarcophagus obviously gave a more secure burial for the body that had housed the immortal soul during its passage through life on earth. Moreover, as an

artistic form, a sarcophagus provided more space for the increasingly desired elaborate decoration that could serve to express the intensified eschatological hopes of the later Roman world, developed in the mystery cult worship. It is also precisely at this time of a deepening religious search in the age of Hadrian that marble from the Hellenistic eastern quarries became available in quantity for the first time. This practical consideration has not been sufficiently recognized. It would seem that the sudden re-emergence of marble sarcophagi is in the end due to the happy coincidence of religious, artistic, and economic factors.

The use of decorated stone sarcophagi spread rapidly over the Roman empire, and they soon became symbols of wealth. Unhampered by anti-luxury decrees as had been Attic burials, sarcophagi were produced in great numbers, varying from elaborate, individually commissioned pieces of high quality to summary ones, mass produced. Over five thousand of them are to be found in museums and collections today, and this must represent only a small portion of their original number. The period of their greatest use spans the middle of the second century through the middle of the third; they continue into the Christian era.

Sarcophagi are of eminent importance for the study of Roman art, for they provide the largest single body of sculptural material in which we may study both the style and subject matter of the art of the tumultuous years of the later Roman empire, when there are few other monuments with pictorial reliefs to which we can turn. They document an unbroken evolution of relief style from the early second century to the Early Christian world of the fourth century, which is not otherwise attested. In addition, study of their subject matter reveals important changes in man's religious aspirations. Through sarcophagus reliefs we can trace and re-experience the profound shift in pagan religious thought, away from a primitive fear of death to a positive hope for immortality. A life in the beyond may be looked forward to with joy and anticipation, whether clothed in myth or symbolic allegory. This liberation of man from the fear of death is one of the supreme gifts of the Roman world toward the emancipation of the human spirit, a liberation that found further fulfillment in the Christian era.

Roman sarcophagi are usually divided into two general classes according to their shape and the placement of their decoration. The first is known as the Roman or "Western" type, because such sarcophagi are largely found in the western areas of the empire. They are characterized by having carving on three sides only, since the back would not have been seen when placed in the customary tomb or niche. Also characteristic of this group are lids that are either low-pitched roofs or

flat, edged by an upright, carved panel running the length of the front and decorated at the ends with masks. For examples of the pitched-roof type see the garland sarcophagus [Cat. No. 1] or the Orestes sarcophagus [Cat. No. 7]. For an example of the flat lid, see the Endymion sarcophagus [Cat. No. 4]. At first a long, low rectangular shape was most popular, but in the third century a round-ended, trough-like form called a *lenos* was sometimes preferred, as illustrated by the Endymion [Cat. No. 4] and Badminton [Cat. No. 17] sarcophagi. Sculptural figurative friezes were largely used for the decoration of the main panels. Also common in the later third century, although known earlier, was the division of the frontal panel into two decorative sections with undulating, fluted designs separating the central and corner figurative reliefs. The sarcophagus of the Physician in the Museum's collection [Cat. No. 24] is an example of this type. These "strigil" sarcophagi were popular as a more economical form of decoration and originated in imitation of wooden coffins. While the strigil design is probably only decorative in its function, it may be that the wavy, parallel lines originated in imitation of the sea waves and were then used as a symbol of the journey over water to the Isles of the Blessed. They are among the many pagan motifs that continued to be used on Christian sarcophagi.

The second class of sarcophagi originated in Asia Minor and thus is known as the "Eastern" type. They in turn may be subdivided into several categories according to their place of origin. One of the largest is the Attic group, made in workshops on the Greek mainland. The Eastern sarcophagi are customarily carved on all four sides, since they often would have been seen out in the open along the streets of the dead in the cities of Asia Minor. Their lids take the form of high gabled roofs [see the Proconnesian garland sarcophagus, Cat. No. 2] or couches with reclining figures (*klinai*), an influence from the Italic-Etruscan world. Besides continuous frieze decoration, the Greek artists of Asia Minor created a columnar variety derived from contemporary architectural forms, represented in the Museum's collection by the fragment of a Philosopher sarcophagus [Cat. No. 22]. The columnar type was copied in the West [see the child's Season sarcophagus, Cat. No. 23], and in fact, both classes influence each other in their later period.

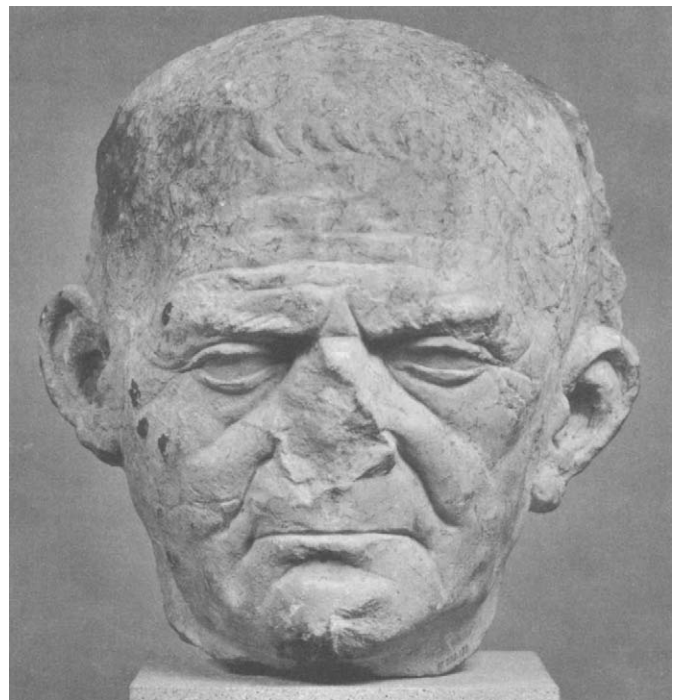
The subject matter on sarcophagi varies greatly. The most popular decorations among the earlier Western group are friezes decorated with garlands [for example, Cat. No. 1]. These are derived from the actual swags offered to the dead at the tomb, and they symbolize the fruitfulness of life in the hereafter. Decorative festoons had long been a part of Roman funerary art and had been regularly used to decorate the earlier cinerary urns and altars. The second most popular subject

among the Western group are narrative scenes depicting some aspect of Greek mythology [for example, Cat. Nos. 5, 8, 10] or the life of the deceased, such as through the series of Battle sarcophagi that begin about 150 and last through the first half of the third century [for example, Cat. No. 18]. Occasionally purely Roman legends are also used, as illustrated by the Museum's fragment of the story of Mars and Rhea Silvia [Cat. No. 11]. All these scenes may be interpreted allegorically as indications of the hope for an afterlife or as reminders to prepare for it by doing good deeds in this one. In the third century there is a shift away from the narrative scenes to purely allegorical subjects, such as the Four Seasons so superbly illustrated by one of the masterpieces of Roman art, the famous sarcophagus from the collection of the dukes of Beaufort, in Badminton [Cat. No. 17]. Greek mythology now gives way to a new symbolic language in which the intensified belief in an afterlife could be given more direct expression.

Changes in subject matter are accompanied by changes in the relief style through which these ideas are expressed. The single ground line used in the Hadrianic and early Antonine sarcophagi [for example, Cat. No. 3] begins to shift in later Antonine and early Severan art to a bird's-eye type of perspective where figures are placed one above the other as in a

10. Male portrait head from Republican funerary relief. Late first century B.C.

MMA, Rogers Fund, 17.230.133



tapestry [for example, Cat. Nos. 4, 11]. It is during the Severan age from 193 to 235, the historical bridge between the early empire and late, that the most critical shift toward a Late Antique style of abstraction and expression takes place. These changes can be traced in both the style and iconography of the sarcophagus reliefs in the Museum's collection, which is especially rich in fine examples from this period. One of the most striking changes that can be observed is the release of the human figure from the background plane by deep undercutting. Forms now begin to exist in an illumined, decorative world of their own [see Cat. Nos. 4, 17]. The drill is also used extensively for the rendering of details such as the hair, eyes, corners of the mouth, and textured surfaces [for example, Cat. No. 16]. These deeply drilled areas present a strong contrast to the smoothly polished larger forms [for example, Cat. Nos. 13, 15]. Light has become one of the chief factors, and the eye delights in flickering across the polished surfaces surrounded by dark shadows. Another aspect of the original surface effect of some of the luxury sarcophagi, which now eludes us, was the use of gilt in the handling of the details of hair, beards, and even drapery. Moreover, gold became increasingly used instead of polychrome on sarcophagi of the third and fourth centuries and must be imagined when looking at the Badminton sarcophagus [Cat. No. 17]. To the ancient Romans gold became a symbol of divinity, and in Christian art it was also used as a symbol of light. The later Roman sarcophagi are thus significant for the development of this concept.

The three-dimensional effect achieved by both the drill and the brilliant contrast of the gold with the white marble is enhanced by the forms of the figures themselves, which are no longer restricted to a classical canon of proportions. Elongated bodies that lack organic structure begin to dominate, and bold discrepancies in scale are increasingly allowed [for example, Cat. No. 17]. New expression is given to the figures through emphasis on the eyes [for example, Cat. No. 16]; they become very large with the pupils indicated by drilling. Compositions become increasingly centralized with the figures frozen into frontal positions [for example, Cat. No. 17]. The previous narrative progression of action from left to right, which dominated sarcophagi reliefs of the second century, is given up in favor of a design with hieratic scale. Purely abstract compositions are also popular, such as the medallion portrait type flanked by figures, a form that begins early in the third century [Cat. No. 19]. The sarcophagus reliefs now show us an art in which symbolic content and abstract form have become the rule. Both the style and content of Roman art have been so transformed by the mid-third century that art historians tend now to use the term "Late Antique" for this style of the later third and fourth centuries. Indeed, it is the art forms from this declining period of Roman imperial power that form the basis for Christian art to follow. This evolution is well illustrated in the Museum's collection of Roman decorated stone and lead sarcophagi, several of which are among the finest in existence.

MARBLE SARCOPHAGI

THE MUSEUM'S Roman collection comprises twelve complete pagan sarcophagi and fragments of sixteen others. (In the Early Christian collection, which must be mentioned to complete the picture, there are fragments of two others.) Of the twelve complete sarcophagi, three are made of lead and thus form a special group in themselves, to be treated at the end of this study.

Taken as a whole, the Museum's group of some twenty-four marble sarcophagi illustrates the evolution of both the style and the content of Roman sarcophagi briefly indicated in the Introduction. All the main classes are represented except for the Attic variant of the Eastern type. Moreover, the Museum possesses one of the finest both from the garland group [Cat. No. 1] and from the mythological group, in which the collection is especially rich, the Endymion sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4]. The Severan period of the critical years of the late second and early third centuries (193–235) is particularly well represented with twelve examples. In this group the famous Season sarcophagus from Badminton Hall [Cat. No. 17] is one of the first of its kind and represents a type that

became especially popular in late antiquity. It must have been carved by one of the innovating masters of the day and has rightly obtained a prominent place in all the recent handbooks of Roman art. By comparing these special masterpieces of the collection, one can fully appreciate the profound changes that occurred in the evolution of Roman art. The organic and mythological world inherited from the Greeks, dominating the iconography and style of the sarcophagus reliefs in the second century of our era, gave way in the third century to a style in which abstract forms and symbolic content dominate. The evolution to a late Roman style was a gradual one, but once the road was found, there was no turning back. This new Late Antique style leads us directly into Early Christian art and reveals how intimately the two eras are interconnected in both their art forms and the ideas that they reflect. Where the pagan religious world ends and Christianity begins is often difficult to distinguish in this realm of sepulchral art, which retains its fascination today as we also seek answers to the eternal questions of the mystery of life and death.



11. *Garland sarcophagus, Cat. No. 1*

1. Garland Sarcophagus

90.12

Early Antonine, 140–150.

Found embedded in masonry near Capranica in the Roman Campagna in 1889. It contained the skeleton of a man thirty-six to fifty-five years old who suffered from arthritis (the skeleton is now in the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.). Gift by contribution.

Lid is Pentelic marble, the coffin of Luni. H. with lid 2 ft. 7 in. (0.79 m.); H. of lid 10¾ in. (0.27 m.); L. 7 ft. 1¾ in. (2.18 m.); D. 1 ft. 2½ in. (0.37 m.).

CARVED ON three sides, the rectangular sarcophagus of the Western garland type is complete with its lid (fig. 11). The relief on the right, short side is left unfinished, and the back is only roughly picked. A figurative frieze decorates the front of the lid, and the side gables are also carved. The left corner of the lid was cracked and apparently repaired in antiquity. Some chips and incrustation are visible, but otherwise the surface is in excellent condition.

The particular type to which the Museum's sarcophagus belongs is characterized by lively putti or sometimes Victories carrying heavy, decorative garland swags (figs. 12, 13).¹ The

1. See basic study of garland type by Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 202 ff. with earlier bibliography. For further examples see those listed by B. Andreae in his study of the garland sarcophagus in the Terme Museum, Helbig,⁴ III, no. 2131. Also see below, p. 60, n. 34, for dating of the garland sarcophagus in the Lateran (Inv. 10443; our fig. 13).



12. *Garland sarcophagus*

Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 441. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 5892



13. *Garland sarcophagus*

Rome, Lateran, inv. 10443. Photo: Vatican



14. Eastern garland sarcophagus

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.29

spaces above the garlands are filled either with masks or mythological scenes, as in our example. While the motif of putti and garlands is common in Roman art from the first century B.C. onward,² its use as the major frontal design on a sarcophagus apparently goes back to a Hadrianic (117–138) artist, for our earliest examples come from this time. The motif lends itself well to the long, rectangular field of decoration, but also it must have been chosen for the appropriateness of the theme for funerary art. The motif continues to be popular on both Eastern³ and Western sarcophagi into the third century (fig. 14), although its chief period of use is during its early development in the second century.

15. Ariadne gives the thread to Theseus, detail of Cat. No. 1



The Museum's example of this popular type is of particular interest both for its fine quality and for the iconography introduced on the frieze of the lid. The frontal panel of the coffin is decorated with four winged putti carrying a heavy chain of garlands. They fill the height of the panel and move in a lively manner across the shallow relief plane, which has a maximum depth of about 0.06 m. Above the swags are three stock mythological scenes taken from the story of Theseus and Ariadne. On the left Ariadne gives the clue of thread to Theseus who stands in a familiar Lysippan statuery pose in front of the entrance to the labyrinth (fig. 15); in the center, inside the labyrinth the hero struggles with the Minotaur (fig. 16). The final scene on the right shows his abandonment of Ariadne on



16. Theseus struggles with the Minotaur, detail of Cat. No. 1

the island of Naxos (fig. 17).⁴ The appropriateness of this myth for funerary art may seem puzzling unless one remem-

2. Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 215, n. 10; Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 216; Stuveras. For its use on earlier urns and altars, see basic study by Altmann. Cf. E. Simon, "Neuerwerbungen des Martin von Wagner-Museums. Würzburg 1965–1968," *AA*, 83 (1968) 155 ff.

3. For an Eastern example, cf. the sarcophagus in Baltimore (our fig. 14), Lehmann—Olsen, 67 ff., fig. 19, which is dated on the basis of its style about 180. For a discussion of Attic Erotes sarcophagi in general, see G. Rodenwaldt, "Sarcophagi from Xanthos," *JHS*, 53 (1933) 184–188. I agree with Rodenwaldt that the use of putti on sarcophagi is not restricted to those of children, and the mere size of the Metropolitan Museum's sarcophagus rules out the supposition that it belonged to a child, quite apart from the skeletal remains.

4. Cf. the representation on the short side of the Hippolytus sarcophagus in Constantinople, Robert, III, 2, no. 144b, pl. XLIV. I am grateful to M. Lawrence for this reference.

bers the sequel of the story, the finding of Ariadne by the god Dionysus who awakens her to a new and happy life. Other links with the Dionysiac mystery cult can be found in the decoration of the two short sides. On the left side (fig. 18) the bust of a satyr boy wearing the *nebris* (fawnskin) of Dionysus and his followers appears above a garland of oak leaves and acorns. On the right side (fig. 19) a comic mask is placed above a garland of laurel. On the two short sides of the lid (figs. 18, 19) a head of “Silvanus,” the Roman god of uncultivated land who may also be identified with Greek satyrs, Sileni, and Pan and thus associated with Dionysus, is carved surrounded by a decorative floral vine.⁵

While Dionysiac imagery has long been in common use,



17. *Ariadne abandoned on Naxos, detail of Cat. No. 1*

the decoration of the frontal frieze on the lid of the sarcophagus introduces a new subject. In this delightful and finely carved scene seasonal winged amorini are represented racing in chariots drawn by various animals. Turning posts frame the scene at each end, and the central palm of victory places the setting in the circus, giving the otherwise decorative scene a sense of actuality.⁶ This is the first representation known in which winged putti may be identified with the male Seasons,

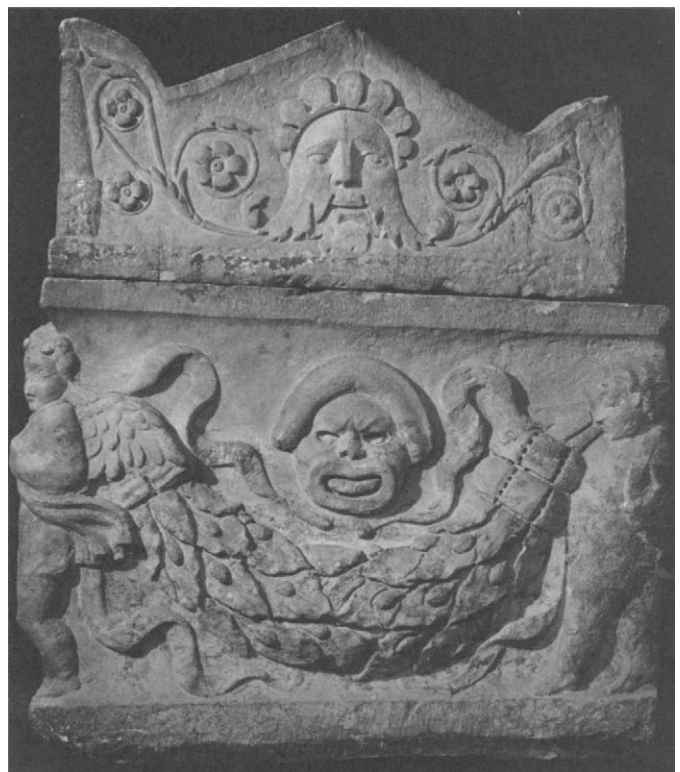
5. For a similar “Silvanus” head, see molding on the arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, Brilliant, 81–82. I am grateful to R. Brilliant for this reference. For Silvanus, see Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, IV, 824–877, “Silvanus” (R. Peter).

6. For the basic study of the use of the circus motif on sarcophagi, see M. Lawrence, “The Circus Relief at Foligno,” *Atti del secondo convegno di studi umbri* (Perugia, 1964) 126 ff.



18. *Left short side of Cat. No. 1*

19. *Right short side of Cat. No. 1*





20. *Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter, detail of Cat. No. 1*

and it is the earliest known representation of them in a chariot race.⁷ The Seasons are also here associated with specific animals, attributes that become common to them in their later development.⁸ Moving from left to right along the front of the Museum's frieze, a putto riding a rearing panther (fig. 20) directs the eye toward the seasonal amorini in their chariots. First comes Spring, racing in a chariot drawn by two bears, with an oak tree in the background, preceded by Summer who is carried in his *biga* by two lions, and wheat stalks are seen in the decoration. Bulls drag the *biga* of Fall, with a pomegranate tree seen in lower relief. Winter is pulled by wild boars, with the ever-green laurel the associated plant. A final putto riding a goat completes the design. The meaning of this charming scene in a funerary context is interpreted by J. Toynbee as an allegory either of the soul's trials in the race of life on earth or the pleasures it will enjoy in the afterworld.⁹ Apart from any allegorical significance, putti performing adult activities were subjects that had been loved by both Greeks and Romans since the Hellenistic age. They again enjoyed popularity in the classical revival of antique forms in the Renaissance in the work of such artists as Jacopo della Quercia (fig. 21), Donatello, and Andrea Bregno.¹⁰

In this context, the four winged, chubby amorini of the main long frieze also have seasonal meaning and as such are forerunners of the Seasons on Season sarcophagi, an independent iconographic type that begins early in the third century.¹¹ Each of the putti wears a different wreath, and each swag is differentiated by seasonal fruits and flowers. The putto on the far left wears a wreath of flowers and supports a festoon of bell flowers combined with open flowers viewed from above. These attributes identify him as Spring. Summer follows, wearing a wreath of wheat and carrying a garland of wheat that merges into the grapes and pomegranates held by Fall, wreathed in grapes. The corner putto on the right is identified as Winter by his chlamys and by the garland and wreath of laurel.

While the seasonal iconography described above apparently originated in the Hadrianic age with its taste for the beauty of Greek organic forms, the extensive drilling used to outline the schematized garlands and set them off in patterns of light and shadow suggests a somewhat later date of execution for the Museum's masterpiece, into the early Antonine period (fig. 22).¹² The lively putti, with their rounded bodies turned in three-quarter postures, and the small scenes above set as vignettes against a neutral background still indicate, however, the artist's heritage from the Hadrianic classicizing

7. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 136; II, 7, n. 25.

8. *Ibid.*, with bibliography. See, especially, D. Levi, "The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art," *ArtB*, 23 (1941) 251–291. Cf. F. Hölscher, *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (Würzburg, 1972) 107, n. 6. I am grateful to D. von Bothmer for the latter reference.

9. Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 214; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 134.

10. For example, cf. the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto in San Martino, Lucca, by Jacopo della Quercia (our fig. 21), which must have been directly inspired by a Roman garland sarcophagus; see A. C. Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia* (Oxford, 1965) 38 ff., figs. 13, 14. Also cf. the sarcophagus of Cardinal Pietro Riario in SS. Apostoli, Rome, by Andrea Bregno, J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (New York, 1958) II, fig. 112.

11. See discussion below, pp. 102 ff.

12. Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 211 ff.; Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 136. For a Hadrianic garland sarcophagus see an example in the Terme Museum, Rome, Toynbee, *Hadr.*, pl. XLIII, no. 2; Helbig, ⁴ III, no. 2131 (Andreae) and our fig. 12. For drill work, cf. also portraits of Antoninus Pius (138–161), such as one in the Museum's collection (our fig. 22).

B. Andreae has suggested to me that the Museum's sarcophagus is Hadrianic in date. The development of the garland sarcophagi according to Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 202 ff., still seems the most convincing to this writer. Cf. N. Himmelmann, *Pisa. Scuola normale superiore. Annali*, ser. III, IV, 1 (1974) 142 ff. The drill work on the Museum's sarcophagus is also more developed than that on the famous garland sarcophagus found in a tomb near the Porta Viminalis, which must date in the late Hadrianic period. See discussion below, p. 60, n. 34.



21. Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, by Jacopo della Quercia

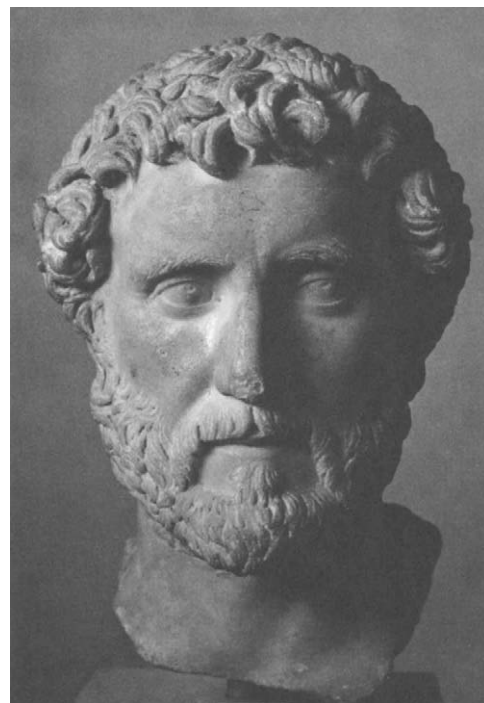
Lucca Cathedral. Photo: Alinari 8275



22. Portrait of Antoninus Pius (138–161)

MMA, Fletcher Fund, 33.11.3

style. By comparison with a Near Eastern counterpart in the Museum's collection [Cat. No. 2], the Roman one far surpasses it in quality. A major sculptor must have been awarded the commission, and his finely carved monument is in contrast to the later piece, which was cursorily carved from a mass-produced design. No exact parallel for the combination of iconographic elements represented in the Museum's earlier garland sarcophagus is known. As such, it is of unique interest for the evolution of both the garland and Season sarcophagus types.



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NSc (1889) 355 ff.; Altmann, 80, fig. 29; Robert, III, 3, no. 425, pl. 133; Richter, *Handbook* (1930) 312; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 202 ff. and 211, pl. XLVII, 2; G. Rodenwaldt, "Der Klinensarkophag von S. Lorenzo," *JdI*, 45 (1930) 143, figs. 22–23; Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 161, 216, 233; II, no. 290, fig. 140; Panofsky, 34, pl. 108; Turcan, 86, 151, 600, 608; Stuveras, 59; M. Honroth, *Stadtrömische Girlanden* (Vienna, 1971) 56, no. 105.

2. Proconnesian Garland Sarcophagus

70.1

Severan, first half of the third century.

Found in Tarsus in Cilicia. First gift made to the Museum in 1870 by Abdo Debbas, U.S. Vice-Consul at Tarsus, though it did not come to New York until 1874–1875.

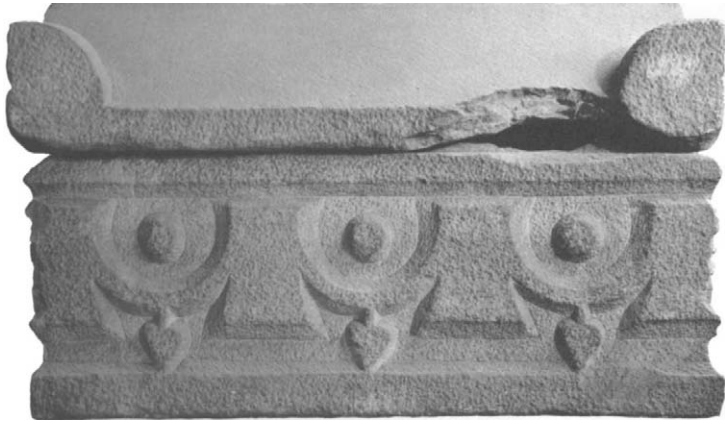
Proconnesian, fine blue-tinged marble. H. with lid 4 ft. 5 in. (1.35 m.); H. of lid 1 ft. 8½ in. (0.52 m.); L. 7 ft. 4 in. (2.24 m.); D. 2 ft. 11 in. (0.89 m.).

As THE Museum's one complete example of the Roman "Eastern" sarcophagus type (fig. 23), the piece has particular importance within the collection. It is also of interest as the first gift to the Museum in 1870 by the Vice-Consul at Tarsus and is a fine example of the standard Proconnesian garland sarcophagus type. The gabled lid is preserved, and it is worked on all four sides, typical of sarcophagi from Asia Minor. The

back of the sarcophagus, however, has been left in its "quarry state" with only the main features of the basic design blocked out and the surface dressed with a coarse point (fig. 24). This treatment illustrates the Roman method of prefabrication for mass production. Sarcophagi were shipped partially worked with the finished carving done at the place of arrival, perhaps even by artisans who accompanied the marble shipments. This method of prefabrication was economical, as it reduced the weight of the material, and served to protect the marble from damage to more finely carved details. Sometimes sarcophagi were also used either completely or partially in their "quarry state," as in our example. Our sarcophagus as a whole is in good condition, with minor chipping at the edges. Only a section of the rear left end of the lid is missing, as well as the noses of the frontal putti and those of the Medusa heads. The carving of the frontal decoration as well as that of the lid and

23. *Proconnesian garland sarcophagus, Cat. No. 2*





24. Rear view of Cat. No. 2

sides has also been left unfinished, and the execution is cursory.

The particular garland design and the Proconnesian marble from which it is made identify the Museum's sarcophagus with a distinctive class that was quarried on the island of Proconnesus near the southern entrance of the Sea of Marmara and exported, to be carved in local workshops (fig. 25).¹ Their market was largely among the coastal cities of Asia Minor and Alexandria, since they could be shipped directly from the island without the cost of land transport. At least two hundred

are known from this area. They also made their way along the ancient water routes to Thrace, northern Italy, the area surrounding the Danube, and southern France. Attic marble was the chief competitor in this trade, and Attic workshops produced finer products. But they were also more expensive, and by the end of the second century Proconnesian marble had a monopoly on the trade.²

The common decorative features of the series to which our sarcophagus belongs are the repeated design of garlands of fruit or foliage. These garland sarcophagi are the most elaborate of the Proconnesian series. The festoons are bound by ribbons held up by animal heads or cupids standing on brackets or pedestals. The space above the garlands might be carved with rosettes or Medusa heads, and the pendant consists of a bunch of grapes. Victories often frame the corners. One or more of the sides was usually left unworked or partially carved, undoubtedly because the sarcophagi were intended to be placed against the wall of a tomb or in a niche where the other sides were not visible. This was surely the case with the Museum's sarcophagus, which nevertheless is an impressive monument in its sheer bulk and is the largest Roman sarcophagus in the collection.

The distinctive features of Cat. No. 2 are the three heavy garlands of oak leaves and acorns bound by ribbons, held up

1. For the basic studies of the type with further bibliography, see articles by J. B. Ward Perkins, "Roman Garland Sarcophagi from the Quarries of Proconnesus (Marmara)," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (1957) 455 ff.; "Four Roman Sarcophagi in America," *Archaeology*, 11 (1958) 98 ff.; "The Imported Sarcophagi of Roman Tyre," *BMBeyrouth*, 22 (1969) 109 ff. For the marble trade in general in the ancient world: J. B. Ward Perkins, "Tripolitania and the Marble Trade," *JRS*, 41 (1951) 89–104; "Severan Art in the Light of Tripolitanian Discoveries," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 36 (1951) 269–304; "The San Pietro Wreck," *Archaeology*, 18 (1965) 201–209.

H. Wiegartz in a recent article is strongly critical of the views expressed in the above literature: "Marmorhandel, Sarkophagerstellung und die Lokalisierung der kleinasiatischen Säulensarkophage," *Mélanges*, 345–383, pls. 119–122. In any case, his arguments do not affect the Proconnesian series. It should be noted that this writer has continued to use the term "Proconnesian," as does J. B. Ward Perkins, to designate the source of the roughs and their economic organization rather than to designate a style or school.

2. The quarries of Proconnesus had a long history prior to Roman times and are first mentioned by Vitruvius in connection with Mausolos' building at Halicarnassus. It was in the first century A.D., however, that the production was reorganized on a large scale to meet the increasing demands of the imperial market (Ward Perkins, *Annual Report . . . Smithsonian Institution* [1957] 455 ff.). Perhaps the earliest Proconnesian sarcophagus known is an anthropoid sarcophagus in the Museum's collection (acc. no. 74.51.2452) from the late fifth century B.C. from Cyprus, which appears, from visual study only, to

be of Proconnesian marble. See J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914) 233, no. 1366; E. Kuhn, *Anthropoide Sarkophage in Beyrouth* (Berlin, 1955) 23, 39 ff., no. K19, pl. 24.



25. Proconnesian garland sarcophagus
Alexandria. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 5618

by amorini who stand on shallow consoles. In the spaces above the two side garlands Medusa heads are carved, while in the center an inscriptional tablet (*tabella ansata*) is placed, left uninscribed. Similar garlands and Medusa heads appear on the short sides (figs. 26, 27). It may have once had a painted inscription. At the four corners of the sarcophagus winged Victories are seen. The lid of the sarcophagus is especially decorative. A frieze of amorini hunting wild animals runs along the length of the cover. This motif appears on other sarcophagi from Asia Minor and Attica and has a long history going back to Hellenistic times.³ We have already seen the popularity of the theme in Western funerary art as well.⁴ Two further winged putti standing with crossed legs fill the frontal acroteria, an unusual feature that suggests a further influence from Attic workshops. The putto on the left leans on a gabled altar, while the one on the right leans on an inverted torch, his quiver lying on a rock to his left, surmounted by a dolphin.

In the two side gables of the short sides, the common love motif of Eros and Psyche is used.⁵ On the left side (fig. 26) Eros shoots his arrow at the sleeping Psyche in the right corner, and what appears to be an inverted lighted torch, symbol of life extinguished, is seen in the left corner.⁶ Stylized half-

3. Cf. a sarcophagus lid from Sidamara in Istanbul (our fig. 167), Morey, 40–43, figs. 65–67. The sarcophagus is dated by Mendel in the second quarter of the third century, I, pp. 288–316, no. 112 (1179) with full bibliography. Cf. G. Rodenwaldt, "Sarcophagi from Xanthos," *JHS*, 53 (1933) 200, no. 57; *idem*, "Sarkophag-Miscellen," *AA*, 53 (1938) col. 398, no. 3. For use of Erotes hunting on the main frieze of a sarcophagus see the example in the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, J. D. Young, "A Sarcophagus at Providence," *ArtB*, 13 (1931) 138 ff. and 152; Ridgway, no. 38, pp. 96 ff.

4. See above, pp. 25 ff.

5. See below, p. 121, notes 9, 10 [Cat. No. 19].

6. See below, pp. 51 ff., with bibliography [Cat. No. 6].

26. Left short side of Cat. No. 2



27. Right short side of Cat. No. 2



palmettes, typical of the Bithynian marble school, fill each of the acroteria,⁷ and a frieze of vine tendrils runs below the gable. In the right gable (fig. 27), Eros and Psyche are seen embracing with a dove watching to the right. On the left, Eros' bow is shown; his quiver hangs from a small oak tree. Similar spirals fill the acroteria, but the lower frieze is here left uncarved. The roof of the lid is decorated with an inverted leaf pattern imitating roof tiles, also left unfinished (fig. 23). It is nevertheless of interest, as one can observe the four stages of carving by the sculptor. He first dressed down the surface and then outlined the leaf pattern, as seen at the top; next, he cut down the design and finally added the detail of the central stem, which can be observed on several leaves on the lower left section.⁸

The Proconnesian garland sarcophagi all derive from a common prototype. Originally the motifs must have been chosen not only for their suitability to the compositional space but also for their funerary meaning. Garland swags represent the actual offerings to the dead and had been used on ash urns and altars in earlier Roman art.⁹ Other motifs such as the grapes and oak leaves can be associated with Dionysus, whose imagery pervades funerary art in the second and third centuries.¹⁰ The hope of the afterlife that the mystery cults offered may be seen in the choice of Victories, which have been interpreted in funerary art as an indication of the triumph of the soul over death.¹¹ Likewise, the crude but lively scene of the hunting Erotes may represent the actual souls of the departed in their struggles upon earth or their activities in a happy afterlife.¹² Also, Eros and Psyche in the contrasting side gables may be

seen as a promise of a blessed awakening through divine love to eternal life. These motifs as used on our unfinished sarcophagus, however, are by the time of its manufacture part of a decorative vocabulary that has lost its original eschatological implications through mass production.

Few Proconnesian garland sarcophagi can be dated closely, but their period of production was largely between about 135 and 250.¹³ They do not appear to continue beyond the third century. The style of the Museum's example, in which the drill is used extensively in the schematized garland swags but combined with a firm grasp of three-dimensional form in the carving of the figures, suggests a date of execution in the Severan period during the first half of the third century.¹⁴

This first gift to the Museum illustrates the taste of the wealthy classes in the Roman province of Cilicia, where it probably was carved. The mixture of decorative details also reveals the influence of Attic workshops in this area. Close study of the monument further brings us in direct contact with methods of prefabrication and standardization in the ancient world, where artisans in a very modern sense sought to make a living through the mass production of what was to become one of their most popular and influential art forms.

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7. Cf. a sarcophagus from Beirut in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, Ward Perkins, *Archaeology* (1958) pl. on p. 98.

8. I am grateful to J. Ward Perkins for these observations and for looking at the monument with me in New York.

For earlier examples of the leaf-tile pattern see ancient Greek sarcophagi, such as the Alexander sarcophagus in Constantinople (our fig. 1), M. Lawrence, *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna*, Monographs on Archaeology and the Fine Arts, II (New York, 1945) 7, and n. 44, for other examples.

9. See above, p. 21.

10. Lehmann—Olsen, 31; Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, IV, 256.

11. Lehmann—Olsen, 51–52; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 214; Cumont, 101, 165, 488 ff.

12. Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 214.

13. For the earliest known garland sarcophagus in a dated context, see the sarcophagus of Caius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus found in a tomb chamber beneath the Library at Ephesus, which was completed in 135, M. Theuer, *Forschungen in Ephesos. Die Bibliothek*, V, 1 (Vienna, 1953) 51.

14. Cf. the drill work on the garland sarcophagus in Beirut, M. Chéhab, "Sarcophages à reliefs de Tyr," *BMBeyrouth*, 21 (1968) no. 1133, pp. 68–74, 79–80, pls. xli–xlii. Cf. Wiegartz, *op. cit.*, for chronology of Asia Minor sarcophagi.



3. Endymion Sarcophagus

24.97.13

Mid-Antonine, 150–160.

Found on the Via Ardeatina on the outskirts of Rome before 1920 and purchased by J. Marshall from A. Barsanti. Fletcher Fund.

Probably Greek marble of medium-sized crystalline structure. H. 1 ft. 7½ in. (0.49 m.); L. 6 ft. 6½ in. (1.99 m.); D. 1 ft. 8 in. (0.51 m.).

THE LID of the sarcophagus is missing, but the chest is complete and in excellent condition (fig. 28). The back is smoothed off and uncarved. The reliefs on the two short sides have been left unfinished. Two parallel square holes for attaching the missing lid are visible on the upper part of each of the short sides. Cracks in the frontal relief between Selene's left foot and the lower part of Endymion's legs have been repaired. Part of the wheel of Selene's chariot is missing, and the front upper right corner of the trough has broken off. The right hand of Aura is also missing. The surface of Endymion's face is worn. A round hole below the belly of the horse was cut for a water-spout at some later date. The workmanship is of fair quality.

28. *Endymion sarcophagus*, Cat. No. 3

The long, low, rectangular frontal panel illustrates the love story of the shepherd Endymion and the Moon goddess Selene.¹ The legend is an appropriate one for funerary art.² As a gift of the gods, Endymion enjoys eternal sleep and youth. Cumont, followed by other scholars, has identified the moon with the actual home of the blessed.³ Combined with the mythological figures at either end of the frontal panel of the Museum's early Endymion sarcophagus a putto is shown with his lighted torch inverted. He crosses his legs in the familiar Praxitelean pose. The putti must represent death, which extinguishes the light of life.⁴ Their presence highlights, by contrast, the theme of eternal life suggested by the myth.

1. For the development of the Endymion sarcophagus type, see Robert, III, 1, pp. 53 ff.; C. Robert, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Clieveden," *JHS*, 20 (1900) 82 ff.; Gerke, 331 ff.; Sichtermann, rev. by M. Lawrence, *AJA*, 72 (1968) 194; H. Sichtermann, "Sarkophag-Miszellen," *AA*, 89 (1974) 311, no. 4; Sichtermann—Koch, nos. 16–19, pp. 27–30, pls. 33–43.
2. For study of the meaning of the myth for funerary art see Cumont, 246 ff. Cf. Nock, 152. Also see below, p. 75, n. 4 [Cat. No. 11].
3. Cumont, 246 ff.
4. See discussion and bibliography cited below, pp. 51 ff. [Cat. No. 6].



Moving from right to left along the frontal panel enframed by the putti, the following figures from the legend may be identified. The sleeping figure of Endymion, the focus of the story, is placed on the far right, with his arm raised over his head and his face tilted upward. A male figure, Sleep, with moth wings, stands behind him. He holds a stalk of seeded poppies in one hand and pours a sleeping potion over Endymion with the other. A flying putto pulls away the flowing mantle surrounding Endymion's naked body. Above, a draped female figure holding a branch and letting water flow from a jar reclines on a narrow rocky shelf. She must be a nymph, and she serves to place the myth in its setting on Mt. Latmos. Two further winged putti follow on the left, the lower one insistently pulling the billowing cloak of Selene, identified by the crescent moon on her forehead, who steps forward from her chariot toward the object of her desire. The upper putto holds a lighted torch in one hand and the goddess's encircling mantle with the other. Aura, the winged and booted personification of Breeze, holds the two horses of Selene's chariot.⁵ Two further putti perch on top of the back of the front horse. The one on the rump holds a lighted torch and the left

side of Selene's mantle. He and the upper putto on the right form a framing motif, which focuses our attention on the Moon goddess. Her encircling cloak further links her to Endymion, who is similarly set off. On the far left, completing the pastoral scene, a sleeping shepherd boy is seated on a rock, his dog in front of him and his goats and sheep placed above him on a rocky ledge. The relief plane is shallow with a maximum projection of about 0.06 m.

On each of the two short sides of the sarcophagus a griffin is carved (figs. 29, 30). These fantastic animals have a long history as guardians of the dead and symbols of apotheosis (fig. 31). They are thus frequently used for the decoration on the sides of urns and sarcophagi, often in a Bacchic context.⁶ Here

5. For the identification of Aura see Robert, III, 1, pp. 54 ff., 60. For the representation of Aura in vase painting see A. D. Trendall, "Three Vases in Sydney," *Charites. Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* (Bonn, 1957) 167-169, pl. 25, 1-2. I am grateful to D. von Bothmer for this reference.

6. For example, cf. the Dionysiac sarcophagi in Baltimore, Lehmann-Olsen, 30-31, 45-47, with further bibliography, and figs. 3-6, 16-18; R. Brown, "Remarks on the Gryphon, Heraldic and Mythological,"



29, 30. Short sides, showing griffins, of Cat. No. 3

the hope expressed through the myth is surely for a reawakening of the deceased to a joyful afterlife, and the griffins serve as appropriate aids in this journey.

The Endymion myth is an especially popular theme on sarcophagi from the Antonine period into the Severan, although it continues even later.⁷ Over seventy examples are known, and the Museum is fortunate to possess another one, executed about fifty years later [cf. Cat. No. 4]. A stylistic comparison of the two is meaningful to illustrate the evolution of sarcophagus forms in the second half of the second

Archaeologia: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity, Society of Antiquaries of London, 48, 2 (1885) 355 ff.

The motif is also common on Etruscan funerary urns; for example, see our fig. 31.

Griffins also occur as a side motif on the Museum's medallion sarcophagus [Cat. No. 19]. The popularity of the motif in the Renaissance may be appreciated by its use in the decoration of the Vélez Blanco patio in the Metropolitan, see O. Raggio, "The Vélez Blanco Patio," *BMAA*, 23 (1964) 141 ff.

7. Robert, III, 1, pp. 53 ff. The Endymion sarcophagi are divided into two classes according to compositional types. The Museum's coffin falls into Robert's second class, with the movement of the figures running from left to right, and is an early example of it before the composition becomes complicated with additional figures.

Closest to the composition of our sarcophagus is one in the Villa Pamphili (Robert, III, 1, no. 50, pl. xiv). While of lesser quality, it is clear that both are dependent upon a common prototype. Robert dates the sarcophagus in the Villa Pamphili in the first half of the second century, a date that should be altered to the mid-century.

century. One may see how the shape develops from the long, low rectangular one, which provides a single ground line, to the higher, round-ended *lenos* type in popular use in the third century. The earlier compositional field enables rational and organic concepts of form and space to dominate. The main figures are spread out along a single baseline, and the drill is



31. Etruscan funerary urn

Perugia, Museo Archaeologico. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 31.1601

used in a restrained manner. For example, single drill holes are used only in the center of the curls of the two cupids on the frontal corners, and only the pupils of the goddess Aura who holds the reins of Selene's chariot are lightly drilled. There is little shadow, and the relief projects only about 0.05 m. Greek statuary types are used for the main figures, which still have classical and rounded proportions.⁸

The composition is also much simpler than in the later version of the story. The same elements are present in both: the sleeping Endymion approached by Selene alighting from her chariot on the right, the winged and booted goddess Aura holding the horses of the chariot, and the seated herdsman, with his sheep and goats above him. But the later composition has become much more complicated and has expanded upward with the introduction of additional floating amorini and other allegorical figures. The rational relationship of the figures to a common baseline has been given up, and they are

shows an increased use of the drill and interest in light and shadow in the handling of the swirling draperies. It is closest in style to Endymion sarcophagi that Sichtermann and Koch, in their recent study, would date around 150; for example, the fine coffin in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome.¹⁰ Cat. No. 3 is not as advanced in its composition or drill work as mythological sarcophagi generally dated between 170 and 180,¹¹ or the Museum's Endymion sarcophagus of the early third century.

The Endymion myth lives on in Early Christian art in the story of Jonah who is represented in the Endymion statuary pose (fig. 34) as a youth who also enjoys a blessed sleep and arises to Paradise.

32. *Endymion sarcophagus*

Rome, Vatican, inv. 2829



33. *Detail of fig. 32*

loosened from their background by bold undercutting, which gives a pattern of light and shadow running over the surface. The relief projects forward at the base about 0.04 m., rising to 0.07 m. at the top.

The Museum's earlier Endymion sarcophagus may be dated by its style around the mid-second century. In comparison with an early Endymion sarcophagus in the Vatican (figs. 32, 33), placed by Andreae in the late Hadrianic period,⁹ ours

8. For the Greek statuary prototype for the sleeping Endymion, see bibliography cited below, p. 42, n. 3 [Cat. No. 4].

9. Helbig,⁴ I, no. 569 (Inv. 2829).

10. Sichtermann—Koch, no. 17, pls. 33, 34.

11. For example, compare, *ibid.*, no. 9, pl. 17,1, Alcestis sarcophagus in the Villa Albani (Inv. 140), or *ibid.*, no. 22, pl. 48,1, Herakles sarcophagus in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua.

Andreae suggests a date between 170 and 180 for the Museum's coffin (letter to D. von Bothmer, Nov. 27, 1975).





34. *Early Christian sarcophagus of Jonah*
Rome, Lateran. Photo: Anderson 1875

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4. Endymion Sarcophagus

47.100.4

Early Severan, 190–210.

Found at Ostia in a funeral chamber in 1825. Brought to Felix Hall, Essex, in 1826, collection of Lord Western. Rogers Fund.

Lid of Luni marble, coffin probably a poor quality Pentelic. H. of coffin 1 ft. 9¼ in. (0.54 m.); H. with cover 2 ft. 4½ in. (0.73 m.); L. at top of coffin 6 ft. 2¼ in. (1.89 m.); L. at base of coffin 5 ft. 3 in. (1.60 m.); D. at top 2 ft. 3 in. (0.69 m.); D. at base 1 ft. 5 in. (0.46 m.).

THE SARCOPHAGUS, which is rounded at the ends and flared upward, is complete with its lid (fig. 35). It is carved on all four sides, although the back is in lower relief than the front and sides. The main relief projects about 0.04 m. at the base and about 0.07 m. at the top. A lion head is carved at each end of the frontal panel. The surface is polished and in excellent condition. On the front panel the head of the putto to the upper right of Selene has been broken off and reattached. The edge of the chariot on the left short side is missing, as is the wing of the putto on the right short side. On the lid, part of the two corner arcaded panels have been broken and reattached as well as part of the panel to the left of the central inscription. The right rim of the lid is missing, and the left rounded end, also missing, has been restored in plaster.

The *lenos* or trough sarcophagus form was made popular in the third century. The earlier long, low, rectangular shape predominant in the second century has been given up in favor of the larger, round-ended form, which allows for a higher compositional design. The two protruding lions' heads at the ends of the frontal panel also characterize the type, which corresponds in shape to an ancient wine trough. The lions' heads therefore may be interpreted as the spouts for new wine used on the troughs in which the grapes were pressed. The new form thus takes on symbolic meaning and may be connected with the mystery rites of Dionysus and the hope for a renewal of life.¹

The main theme of the story, the awakening of the sleeping Endymion by the Moon goddess Selene, takes place on the right of the frontal panel.² Endymion sleeps on the far right (fig. 37) in a Greek statuary pose also common to the sleeping

1. F. Matz, "An Endymion Sarcophagus Rediscovered," *BMAA*, 15 (1956–1957) 127. For a study of the evolution of the form, see Turcan, 62 ff. and 533 for symbolism.
2. For bibliography on the Endymion sarcophagus type see above, p. 34, n. 1 [Cat. No. 3].

35. *Endymion sarcophagus*, Cat. No. 4

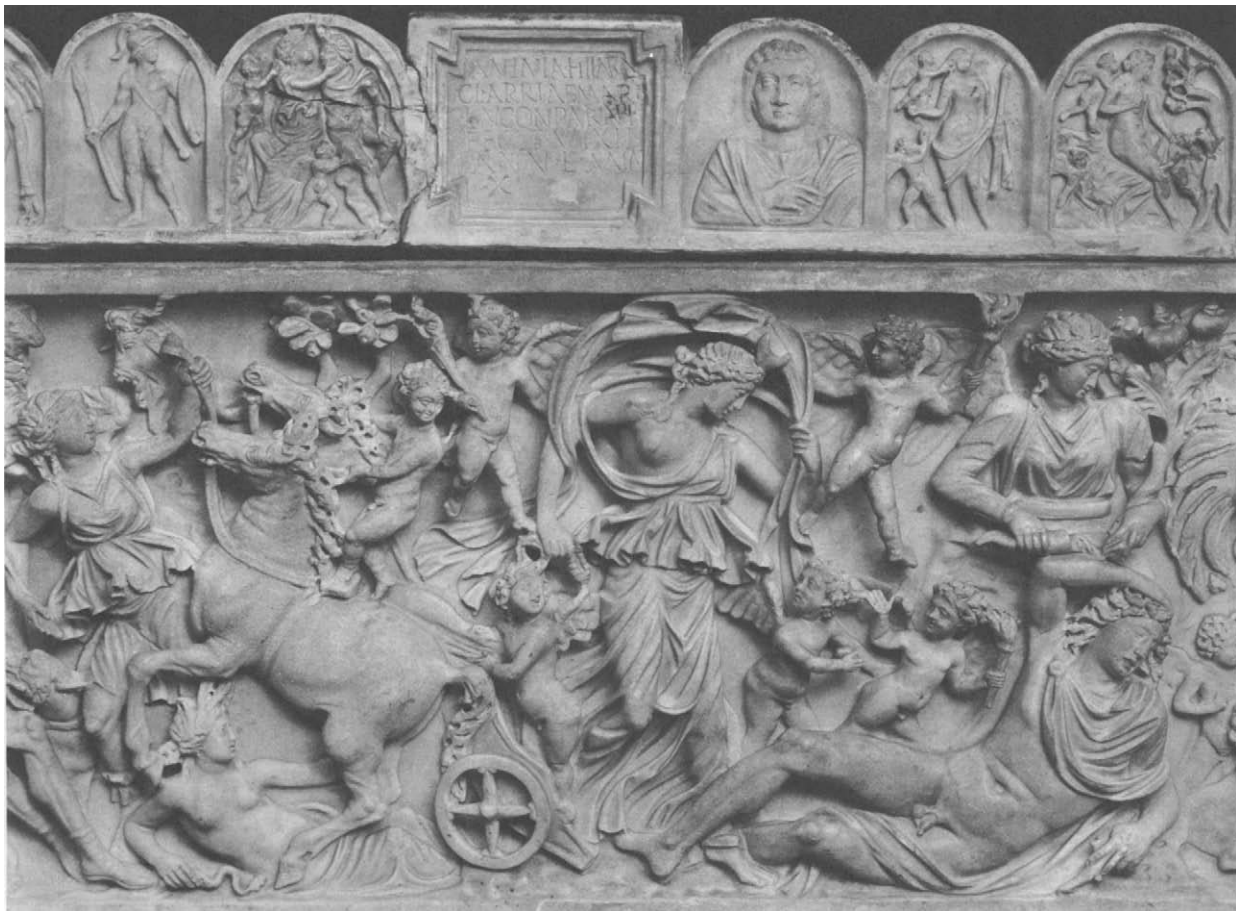




36.
*Section of the frontal
 panel of Cat. No. 4*



38.
*Left curved end of Cat.
 No. 4*



37.
Section of the frontal
panel of Cat. No. 4



39.
Right curved end of Cat.
No. 4



40. Rear view of Cat. No. 4

Ariadne.³ In contrast to the earlier Endymion sarcophagus discussed above [Cat. No. 3], Endymion's head is turned downward. Behind him a winged female figure of Night, holding a stalk of poppy seed pods, pours a sleeping potion over him. At his feet, Selene, with her veil billowing around her, steps from her chariot encouraged by insistent winged putti, the attendants of her love. To the left of center, the reins of Selene's horses are held by a winged and booted female figure, probably Aura, the personification of Breeze. Beneath the chariot, the figure of Mother Earth reclines, holding a sacred snake in one hand. On the far left (fig. 36), the scene is completed by a bearded shepherd seated with his dog by his knees and a kid beside him. Sheep and goats sit on a narrow rocky ledge above him. Eros and Psyche appear embracing below the lion's head to the shepherd's left.

The myth is given a cosmological setting, in contrast to the earlier Endymion sarcophagus, by the figures of the Sun and Moon placed on the two curving ends. On the left (fig. 38), the male figure of the Sun with a crown of rays is guided in his chariot across the heavens by the Morning Star, a winged putto bearing a lighted torch. At their feet bearded Ocean reclines. On the right side (fig. 39), the Moon goddess with the crescent crown appears again in her chariot, guided by Aura, with the Evening Star plunging toward Earth who reclines below the rearing horses. These figures, too, probably have eschatological meaning. Ocean and Earth would represent the terrestrial sphere the deceased leaves behind as his soul is borne aloft with the help of the gods.⁴ Indeed this motif of Helios in his quadriga becomes in Christian art the Christ-Helios who promises resurrection to the faithful.⁵

On the back of the sarcophagus (fig. 40), in low relief, a bucolic scene is represented showing bulls and horses grazing between two herdsmen.⁶ The one on the left reclines in the same pose as Endymion, linking this pastoral scene with the one on the front. Above him and the bull farthest to the left lies a sheep. The landscape setting is suggested by the trees that enframe the two center horses. Two nymphs, one with a water jar, complete the scene on the right. They probably indicate a spring. Thus, the relief on the back continues the pastoral setting of the Endymion story, which according to one tradition took place on Mt. Latmos in Caria. The execution of the back relief is less fine than on the front and would seem to have been executed not by the master but by a skillful assistant. Peculiar to the workmanship on the back of the sarcophagus is the use of small, dotted, round, drill holes, rather than long channels as on the front panel, to accent the manes of the animals and hair of the figures. This "pointillist" technique becomes in-

3. Cf. the figure of Ariadne in the scene above the right-hand garland (our fig. 17).

For the Greek statuary prototype, see Havelock, pl. 122, p. 136.

For its continued use in Roman painting, see, for example, Curtius, fig. 176, p. 307, painting from the Casa del Citarista in Naples.

4. Matz, *op. cit.*, 123 ff.; Cumont, 488.

5. M. Lawrence, "Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art," *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, *De Artibus Opuscula*, XL (New York, 1961) 331.

6. For a similar bucolic scene used for the design of a sarcophagus cover, see Mustilli, no. 90, p. 183, pl. CXX (466). I am grateful to B. Andreae for this reference. These pastoral scenes continue on Christian sarcophagi, see Wilpert, I, 64 ff.

creasingly used in the later third century, as may be observed on the frontal panel of the child's Season sarcophagus in the Museum's collection [Cat. No. 23].

The small panels decorating the lid also relate to the Endymion theme (see figs. 35–37). Two gods appear in the framing end panels, personifying the mountain setting of the story. The one on the left in a rare representation may be identified as Mt. Latmos. On the right the young god Sylvanus may be seen, also seated on a rock with a hare and a dog beside him. The adjacent panels are each decorated with a winged male Season: Spring carrying a hare and a stalk of flowers on the left with another hare and tragic mask at his feet; and Fall bearing a bowl of fruit with a panther at his feet on the right. Their promise of nature's renewal of life make them an appropriate addition and have been a theme, as we have seen, already in use for sarcophagus decoration.⁷ The next panel on the left shows Eros and Psyche, and, on the right, the goddess of Love, Venus herself, in a pastoral setting. She appears again in the next panel on the right, which corresponds with the relief of her paramour Mars. Endymion and Selene in a possibly unique representation of embrace complete the left-hand panels. Two Erotes hover around them. Both wear crescents in their hair, indicating that Endymion now enjoys eternal life with his beloved among the gods. This, too, was surely the hope of the daughter of Arria, Aninia Hilara, who ordered and inscribed the elaborate sarcophagus for her mother after her death at the age of fifty years and ten months. The recurring theme of love in the decorative motifs suggests that the sarcophagus was indeed made as a special tribute to the incomparable devotion of Arria commemorated in the following central inscription:

ANINIA HILARA
CL ARRIAE MATRI
INCONPARABILI
FECIT VIXIT
ANN L MEN
X

At the immediate right of the central inscription is the three-quarter length bust of the deceased woman, Arria (fig. 41). Her waved hair style, which covers her ears and falls around her upper neck, may be associated with the earlier portraiture of the empress Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (193–211) and mother of Caracalla (211–217). More specifically, the hair style used here with simple large waves parted in the middle, covering the ears and pulled back at the upper neck into a simple large bun in the back, appears on the portraits of Julia Domna on her coins from 193–209 (fig. 42).⁸ In J. Meischner's most recent study of the empress's portraiture, she associates this coin type with the empress's earliest group

of portraits in the round, of which the head in Copenhagen is a good example (fig. 43).⁹ In using the empress's portraits for dating private portraiture it should be remembered, as Meischner also suggests,¹⁰ that a popular hair style might remain in private use for a longer period than is reflected in the imperial image (fig. 44). But it does allow us to give a secure date after which the sarcophagus was carved and as such Cat. No. 4 is an important monument for the chronology of Roman sarcophagi as a whole.

The Museum's sarcophagus is also unique among the Endymion series of some seventy known examples in both its

7. Cf. discussion of Cat. No. 1, pp. 27 ff.

8. See Mattingly, *BMC*, V, pp. cxxxi ff., pls. 27, 28, 29, 1–8, dated here 196–211. Cf. P. Hill, *The Coinage of Septimius Severus and His Family of the Mint of Rome A.D. 193–217* (London, 1964) 8; V. Scrinari, "Le donne dei severi nella monetazione dell'epoca," *BullComm*, 75 (1953–1955) 117 ff. It is also the portrait type used for her image on the Arch of the Argentarii in Rome (McCann, 73, pl. xv, 2) dated by its inscription in 204, and on a painted tondo in Berlin, *ibid.*, 79 ff., pl. xxi, probably to be dated before 200. [Cf. Cat. No. 20.]

9. Meischner, 11–17, 30–68. Her dating is cited here. For the head in Copenhagen see *ibid.*, 30, no. 5, pl. 37, and V. Poulsen, *Les Portraits romains de Vespasien à la basse-antiquité*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, 1974) II, no. 131, pls. ccviii–ccix.

10. Meischner, 13. She suggests not more than a period of thirty years.

41. Portrait of Arria, detail of Cat. No. 4





42. *Julia Domna, aureus, 193–209*

London, British Museum. Photo:
A. M. McCann



43. *Portrait of Julia Domna (193–217)*

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek,
inv. 1490



44. *Portrait bust of Severan woman. First half of the third century*

MMA, Fletcher Fund, 30.11.11

rich imagery and fine quality. The importance of the sarcophagus for our understanding of the stylistic development of the Endymion group may be realized by comparing it to the Museum's earlier example of the type [Cat. No. 3].¹¹ The later sarcophagus of Arria no longer shows a single ground line, and the figures have been loosened from their sculptural background to float above one another in a new spatial context. Visual effects are created by the deep and sketchy drill work now used throughout the sarcophagus in portraying details such as hair, fur, and manes of animals. While the figures in their concern for surface modeling indicate a lingering desire for plastic form, they no longer move in a world of gravity and reality. The bodies are flattened and elongated, as in the smoothly stretched figure of Endymion. The polished, rapidly moving forms, crowded to the surface and combined into a lively composition that is enriched with many naturalis-

tic details, make for a visually exciting work of art. This early Severan baroque style finds fulfillment in the Badminton sarcophagus twenty to thirty years later [Cat. No. 17].

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Robert, III, 1, no. 83, pp. 103 ff., pl. xxiv, figs. 83 a–c, with earlier bibliography. Robert, as did Michaelis, took this sarcophagus to be the Endymion sarcophagus destroyed at Warwick Castle in a fire of 1871; *CIL*, XIV, no. 565; Altmann, 48, fig. 16; Robert, III, 3 (1919) 569, no. 83; C. Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *AJA*, 59 (1955) 148; F. Matz, "An Endymion Sarcophagus Rediscovered," *BMMA*, 15 (1956–1957) 123 ff.; Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, 166–167, for list of related workshop pieces; Richter, *Roman Portraits*, n. 92; M. Lawrence, "Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art," *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, *De Artibus Opuscula*, XL (New York, 1961) 324 ff.; Sichtermann, 15, fig. 8.

the late Antonine period, a date that seems more convincing on stylistic grounds to this writer. G. Hanfmann also dates the Villa Medici sarcophagus during this time and specifically offers a date of 190–200 (Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, p. 19, ch. III, n. 49).

For a stylistic comparison with a slightly later sarcophagus within the Endymion series, see the example in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (our fig. 46), Helbig,⁴ II, 213 ff. (Andreae), dated 210 to 220 on the basis of its style, or the sarcophagus in the Galleria Doria Pamphili (Sichtermann—Koch, no. 18, pl. 35,2, pls. 38–41; our fig. 47) dated in the first half of the third century. For an early Severan example of the *lenos* type, see the Dionysiac sarcophagus in Salerno, Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 1, no. 40, pl. 37, pp. 141 ff.

11. See above, pp. 34 ff.

Matz attempts to relate the Museum's Arria sarcophagus to other workshop pieces (*Röm. Meisterwerk*) 166–167, Group II, dated 190–220. While Matz's workshop groups do not always appear stylistically consistent to this writer, a chronological sequence can at least be established by comparative material that supports the early Severan date of the Museum's piece. It is clear that the pictorial style of the Arria sarcophagus grows out of the late Antonine illusionistic style illustrated by the famous sarcophagus in the Villa Medici in Rome showing the Judgment of Paris, M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le antichità di Villa Medici* (Rome, 1951) 54, pl. xxviii, dated in the early Severan period (our fig. 45). Cf. D. Strong, pl. 98, who dates it in



45. *Judgment of Paris, frontal relief of sarcophagus* Rome, Villa Medici. Photo: Alinari 27526

46. *Endymion sarcophagus* Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo: Anderson 1766



47. *Endymion sarcophagus* Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 71.1497





5. Sarcophagus with the Contest of the Muses and the Sirens

10.104

Late Severan, second quarter of the third century.

Formerly in the Giardino Torrigiani, Florence. Purchased by John Marshall in Rome in 1910. It appears in a collection of drawings after the antique by Cassiano dal Pozzo, indicating that the sarcophagus was in Rome about 1640. Rogers Fund.

Pentelic marble, small crystals, translucent. H. 1 ft. 9 in. (0.53 m.); L. 6 ft. 5 in. (1.96 m.); D. 1 ft. 9 in. (0.53 m.).

THE LONG, low rectangular sarcophagus (fig. 48) is complete except for its lid, which is lost though still shown in the seventeenth-century Dal Pozzo drawings.¹ The short sides (fig. 49) of the sarcophagus have been carved with a rearing

48. *Sarcophagus with the contest of the Muses and Sirens, Cat. No. 5*

hound, the coat of arms of the Del Nero family, who converted it, apparently in the seventeenth century, into a chest with a keyhole cut into the upper center of the frontal panel. There are some chips, but otherwise the sarcophagus is well preserved. The surface still holds its high polish, and traces of the original red paint in the background are visible. The hair is

1. C. Vermeule, "The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the British Museum," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 50, 5 (1960) 9, no. 2, 13; T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst VI," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 6 (1963) 73 ff., pl. 10a.



deeply drilled as are the corners of the mouths. Only some of the figures have their eyes drilled. The low relief projects fairly evenly for about .063 m.

The sarcophagus is the only complete surviving example of a story known from ancient sources, the musical contest between the Muses and the Sirens.² The Muses standing alone or commonly with Apollo were, however, a popular theme on sarcophagi from their beginning³ and may be associated with man's highest intellectual and artistic aspirations. The defeat of the Sirens, half women and half bird creatures, by the Muses may be interpreted allegorically as the triumph of good over evil in the struggle of life.⁴

The front of the sarcophagus is decorated with three successive stages in the story presented as a continuous representation. As on a stage, the drama takes place in front of a long curtain known as the *parapetasma*,⁵ which may also have funerary significance. The first scene on the left shows the Greek gods who act as judges in the competition: Athena with her spear, Zeus with his scepter, lightning bolt, and eagle, and Hera, veiled with her scepter. Their poses are familiar to us

2. For ancient references to the Sirens see: Homer, *Odyssey*, 12.39, 184; Euripides, *Helena*, 167–168; Apollonius, *The Argonautica*, IV, 893–921; Lycophron, *Alexandria*, 653, 671, 712 ff.; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, VII, 18–19. For later references see G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1902) and Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, IV, s.v. "Seirenen," 601 ff., 639.

The one other example of the story known on a sarcophagus is the crude fragment in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Wegner, no. 72, pl. 142d, dated in the third quarter of the third century.

3. Wegner; C. Panella, "Iconografia delle muse sui sarcofagi romani," *Studi miscellanei*, 12 (1967) 15 ff. For a newly discovered Muse sarcophagus see M. Moretti, *Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell'Etruria meridionale* (Rome, 1975) 259 ff., no. 8. For the use of the musical motifs in later art see E. Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New York, 1967) 185 ff.
4. Cumont, 325 ff.; cf. Nock, 140 ff.
5. The earliest Muse sarcophagus known using the *parapetasma* would appear to be one in Vienna, Wegner, no. 228, pls. 11, 12, which he dates in the last quarter of the second century.

For the meaning of the *parapetasma* in funerary art see W. Lameere, "Un symbole pythagoricien dans l'art funéraire de Rome," *BCH*, 63 (1939) 43 ff.; H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Lausanne, 1961) 145.



49. *Left short side of Cat. No. 5*

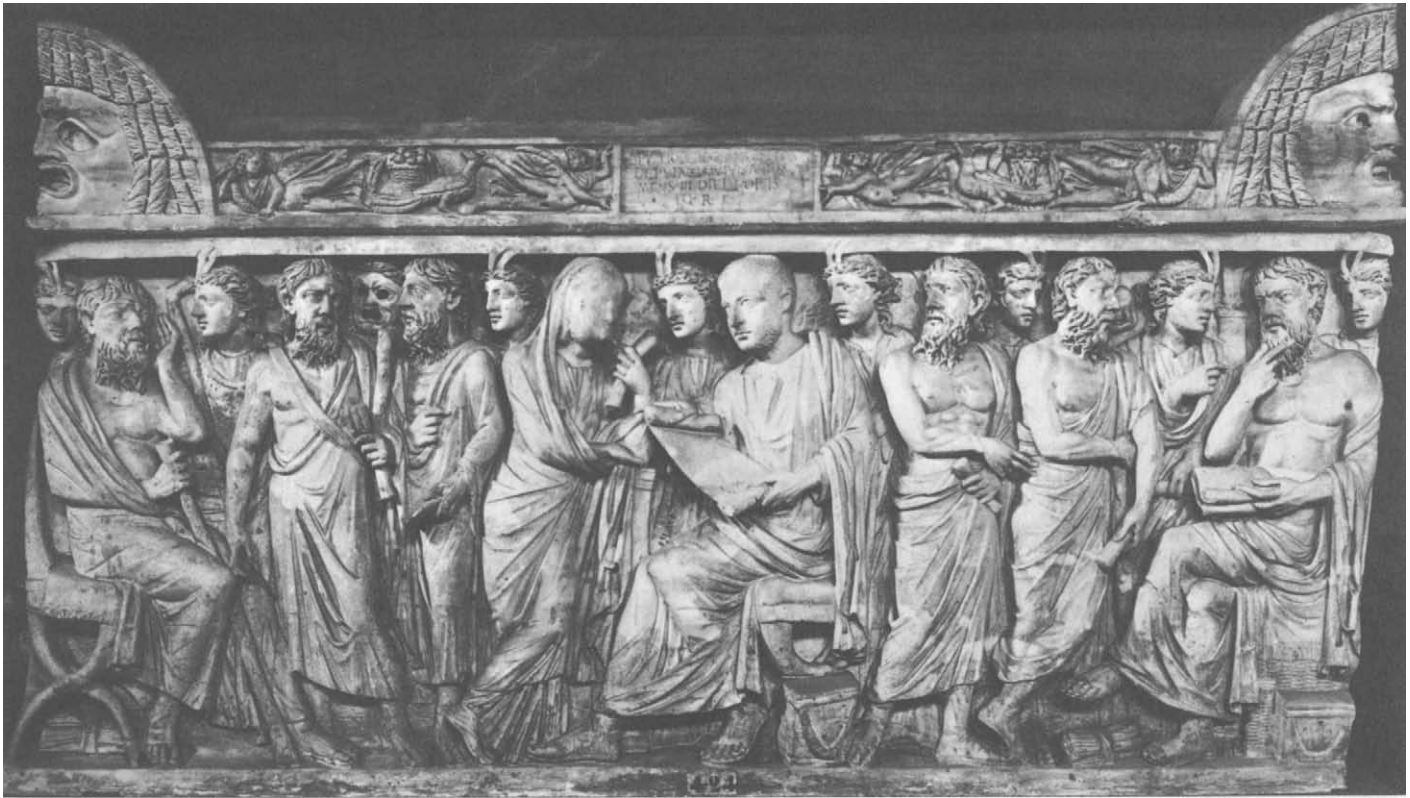
from the famous Italic group of the Capitoline Triad.⁶ In the center of the relief, the contesting Muses and Sirens are paired, and on the right the sequel to the contest is shown: the triumphant Muses tear out the feathers or pull the hair of the defeated Sirens, whose upper bodies are now shown nude, without their performing clothes. The heads of the Muses are adorned with two feathers indicating their victory, and individual Muses can be identified by their attributes. In the foreground of the central group, moving from left to right, is Euterpe with a flute in each hand paired with a Siren blowing vigorously on her double flute. The latter's lower body is

50. *Apollo and the Muses sarcophagus*
San Simeon, California



twisted to the left, while her upper torso swings to the right with her flute touching the upper rim of the coffin. She starts the movement which from here descends toward the defeated Sirens in the right-hand scene, where the body of the last one actually rests along the lower rim of the sarcophagus. Next to Euterpe is a singing Siren standing beside Calliope, the Muse of heroic epic, who holds a scroll in her left hand. Erato, the Muse of erotic poetry and hymns, holds a lyre and is paired with a Siren playing a lyre. In the background are Urania whose gift is astronomy, identified by the globe at her feet, and Thalia,⁷ the Muse of comedy with the comic mask. These three Muses stand erect and immovable, creating a centralizing focus to the composition. The final four Muses in the right scene appear without attributes (Clio, Melpomene, Terpsichore, and Polyhymnia). Here the *dénouement* in the action takes place. The defeated Sirens gradually collapse to the ground like fallen sticks, while the Muses stand firm and unshakable as they pull the hair and pluck the feathers of the wild creatures. The designer of the sarcophagus masterfully used the abstract elements of the composition to emphasize the symbolic content⁸: the overcoming of passion and worldly temptations through culture and the arts, the gifts of the Muses.⁹ The unity of time in the narrative has been given up in favor of the new third-century concern for symbolic expression and the abstract unity of the compositional design.

On the sarcophagus the running drill is used in patterned channels in the hair with short connecting bridges remaining. The corners of the mouths are deeply drilled, while only some of the eyes are drilled. Classical poses are used, but the bodies are largely concealed by the folds of drapery. The heads, with their heavy features and enlarged eyes, are out of proportion to the squat bodies. Their abstracted forms and vacant expressions may be compared to the heads of the Seasons on the Badminton sarcophagus [Cat. No. 17].¹⁰ The more schematized pattern of the drill work in the hair, as well as the in-



51. *Philosopher and the Muses, sarcophagus of L. Publius Peregrinus*

Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 424. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 31.958

creased flattening of the bodies, suggests, however, a slightly later date than for the Badminton. The figures on the Muse sarcophagus move in a lively manner from one group to the next, and the whole composition, unlike that of the Badminton sarcophagus, is slightly off center. The space is compressed,

and the tall forms of the Muses fill the height of the relief and provide a dominating vertical accent in the design similar to that of the Seasons. This compression of the space with an interest still in the lively movement of the figures in three-quarter poses along a single ground line, and the use of the long, low rectangular coffin form popular in the previous century, suggests that the Muse and Siren sarcophagus was carved by a more conservative artist working in the later Severan period. His style is remarkably close to that of the artist of the Muse sarcophagus in San Simeon, California (fig. 50).¹¹

6. On the Capitoline cult and its representation in art see Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, II, 1, cols. 705 ff. and 754 ff. (Aust).

7. Wegner, 82, identifies this figure as Terpsichore, the Muse of lyric poetry, but the comic mask and *pedum* (?) are the attributes of Thalia. M. Lawrence also agrees with an identification with Thalia. See study of attributes of Muses by Panella, *op. cit.*, 20 ff.

8. Andreae has kindly shared his views on the composition of this sarcophagus with me, some of which have been incorporated in the above discussion. Andreae would further divide the composition into a series of sixteen rectangular units, mathematically arrived at through the help of a dividing cord. See B. Andreae, "Imitazione ed originalità nei sarcofagi romani," *RendPontAcc.*, 41 (1968–1969) 156–164. This system is also followed by F. Baratte, "Un sarcophage d'Achille inédit," *MélRome*, 86 (1974) 795 ff. For myself, this method fails to clarify the compositional design, and thus it has not been discussed here.

9. Cf. Marrou.

10. See below, pp. 101–102, fig. 121. For further stylistic comparisons among the Muse sarcophagi series note especially the coffin in San Simeon, California, Wegner, no. 219, pl. 31a (our fig. 50), which Wegner dates in the second quarter of the third century, discussed below; the sarcophagus in the Villa Medici, Rome, *ibid.*, no. 215, pls. 27, 29, 30; the sarcophagus in Agliè, *ibid.*, no. 2, pl. 35, both dated also in the second quarter of the third century.

For a slightly more advanced style, compare the Philosopher and Muses sarcophagus of L. Publius Peregrinus, Rome, Museo Torlonia, dating about the mid-third century by its portrait head (*JdI*, 51 [1936] 101–104) (our figs. 51–52).

11. Wegner, no. 219, pp. 83–84, pl. 31a.



52. Detail of fig. 51

Photo: German Arch. Inst. 36.40

In fact, one wonders if the two coffins may be by the same hand or at least from the same workshop.¹² Compare, for example, the handling of the drapery with the emphasis on the center vertical folds in the figures of Euterpe from the Museum's sarcophagus and of Erato from the San Simeon coffin. Both also reveal a preference for figures with hips swung out, squat proportions, and large heads. The coffin in San Simeon has been dated by its portrait head around 230 to 240,¹³ a date that also seems appropriate to this writer and may be used to confirm the placement of Cat. No. 5. Ours would appear, however, to be the earlier of the two, for its composition is less frozen with more variety of movement in the figures than in the San Simeon one. Taken together in comparison with the Badminton sarcophagus, the three illustrate the wide variety of styles and schools possible in closely contemporary workshops of the third century.

The lost lid of the Museum's coffin, known from the Dal Pozzo drawings, is linked by its subject to the main frieze. The Homeric story of the Sirens and Odysseus' flight was carved on the right and seated figures of readers and dramatists on the left. Perhaps the sarcophagus was originally intended for a poet or dramatist who chose this lively theme in which to clothe his own eschatological hopes.

12. D. von Bothmer is of the same opinion.

13. Wegner, no. 219, pp. 83–84, pl. 31a, and rev. by K. Fittschen in *Gnomon*, 44 (1972) 501; B. Andreae, letter to D. von Bothmer, Nov. 27, 1975, "235–245."

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6. Fragment of a Sarcophagus, Eros with a Torch

49.101.16

Mid-Antonine, third quarter of the second century.

Anonymous gift.

Luni marble. Max. H. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.16 m.); max. W. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0.14 m.); max. D. 3 in. (0.076 m.); max. D. of relief 1 in. (0.025 m.).

ALL THAT remains of the sarcophagus is the left corner of the frontal panel with the upper torso of Eros, identified by his wings and pose (fig. 53). The small figure turns toward his left, leaning his head upon his left shoulder. He cushions his cheek with his right hand, the right arm crossing his upper torso. His puffy eyes are closed in sleep, and the upper tip of his inverted torch upon which he leans is visible under his left armpit. The fragment is broken at his waist, and his lower left arm is missing. A portion of the upper, concave rim of the trough is preserved with a small uncarved section of the left short side. A modern lead pin has been inserted into the back of the fragment. The surface of the marble is worn with spots of discoloration visible. The piece is of fair quality.

The figure of a sleeping Eros standing with his legs crossed and leaning on his torch with the flame extinguished is a familiar motif on Roman sarcophagi.¹ The god of love and son of Aphrodite has been interpreted in this funerary context as a

54. Early Christian sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 1219. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 1540



53. *Eros with a torch, fragment of a sarcophagus, Cat. No. 6*

symbol of death or sleep.² As such he is especially popular as a framing motif on Endymion sarcophagi,³ where he is combined with the sleeping shepherd who has been given eternal

1. For the most recent study of Eros in funerary art, see J. Birkedal Hartmann, "Die Genien des Lebens und des Todes. Zur Sepulkralikonographie des Klassizismus," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 12 (1969) 11–38. For an additional interpretive study, see Collignon, *Essai*. For the cult of Eros and representations in art as a whole, see Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, I, 1339–1372; II, 1613–1625; *RE*, VI, cols. 484–542 (Waser).

2. Cumont, 340, 409, 410, with earlier bibliography. See also Panofsky, 38; Stuveras, 33 ff. For the relationship of Eros to Attis, see E. Will, *Le Relief cultuel gréco-romain* (Paris, 1955) 198 ff.

3. Sichtermann, figs. 27, 28, 51.



life by Zeus (other examples of which are in the Museum's collection, Cat. Nos. 3, 4).⁴ His use, however, is not limited to pagan Endymion sarcophagi, and he remains a popular motif on Christian sarcophagi as well (fig. 54).⁵ The statuary type has been traced back to Greek Hellenistic funerary art where statuettes of Eros have been found in tombs and interpreted as personifications of the souls of those who have died and are enclosed.⁶ In Roman funerary art the meaning of the figure changes as the concept of death as a sleep from which one will be awakened to eternal life evolves. Eros is transformed into a sleeping figure, and he may also hold the crown of immortality, combining both the expression of death and victory over it.⁷

The style of the Museum's fragment is close to that of the earlier Endymion sarcophagus in the Museum's collection

mentioned above. The drill is used very sparingly in both with only single, shallow holes accenting the center of the ringlets, which are otherwise carved with the chisel. Additional single holes articulate the upturned corners of the lips and the dimple of the chin. This limited use of the drill, the three-quarter posture, and the shallow relief all suggest an early date for both monuments, close to the middle of the second century. The comparison also suggests that the fragment may have belonged to a child's sarcophagus, for the head and remaining torso of Eros are considerably smaller in scale than those on the Endymion sarcophagus.⁸

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4. See above, p. 34.

5. See, for example, Panofsky, fig. 139, sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.

6. M. Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris, 1911) 42 ff.

One may compare these representations of Eros with the more usual ones from the Hellenistic period that show him as a playful boy, active or sleeping, such as the fine bronze Sleeping Eros in the Museum's collection (acc. no. 43.11.4). See G. M. A. Richter, "A Bronze Eros," *AJA*, 47 (1943) 365 ff.

7. Cumont, 410, fig. 91.

8. For the popular use of Erotes on both child and adult sarcophagi, see study by G. Rodenwaldt, "Sarcophagi from Xanthos," *JHS*, 53 (1933) 184 ff.

7. Fragments of an Orestes Sarcophagus

28.57.8a-d

Mid-Antonine, 150–165.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Fletcher Fund.

Luni marble. H. of trough, 1 ft. 9¼ in. (0.54 m.); H. of lid 9¼ in. (0.24 m.); max. L. of frontal panel 3 ft. 10½ in. (1.18 m.); max. L. of joining fragments of lid 1 ft. 11¾ in. (0.60 m.); D. 2 ft. 1¾ in. (0.66 m.); max. D. of relief 2¼ in. (0.06 m.).

THE FRONTAL panel has been reassembled (fig. 55) from seven fragments that join except for a gap of 0.06 m. between the right foot of Orestes and the reclining Fury. The right corner is preserved with the complete length of the right short side (fig. 56). Also fully preserved is the right corner of the lid with three joining fragments and an additional separate piece of the frieze. The rear upper corner of the left short side (fig. 57) is completely preserved with three joining fragments. The interior of the sarcophagus is worked with a pick. At the right end, a semicircular ledge (0.05 m. high and 0.29 m. in diameter) has been left with a circular depression for the head in the center. The marble is discolored and incrustated in places. The surface is worn, and the workmanship is of fair quality.

Though in fragmentary condition, enough remains to identify the figures with the *Oresteia* legend known especially from the Greek plays of Aeschylus,¹ Sophocles,² and Euripides.³ The Metropolitan sarcophagus belongs to a group of Orestes sarcophagi, of which thirteen examples known to me remain, showing the double murder of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra (figs. 58–60).⁴ It is closest in iconography, style, and size to a complete sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum (fig. 58).⁵ From comparison with the Vatican piece it can be estimated that the Museum's joining frontal fragments constitute approximately one half the length of the sarcophagus. When complete, the frontal panel illustrated three separate dramatic events from the *Oresteia*, combined into one compositional unit suitable for the length of a sarcophagus panel. By comparison with the Vatican sarcophagus and others of the same type, the remaining figures can be identified and the original composition restored.

Moving from left to right, the left scene on the Vatican sarcophagus, now completely missing from Cat. No. 7, shows three Furies sleeping on a rocky mound. J. M. C. Toynbee, following Helbig, has interpreted the scene as the cairn or

1. *Agamemnon*, *The Libation-Bearers*, *Eumenides*.

2. *Electra*.

3. *Electra*, *Orestes*.

4. See Robert, II, 168–177, pls. LIV–LVI, his second class of Orestes sarcophagi, which include the examples in:

Rome, Lateran, Inv. 10450. Robert, II, no. 155; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1127 (Andreae); Bianchi Bandinelli, 275 ff., fig. 311.

Rome, Palazzo Giustiniani. Robert, II, no. 156; Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 166 ff., pl. 37,3; Bianchi Bandinelli, 279, fig. 315.

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Rome, Vatican, Inv. 2513. Robert, II, no. 158; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 523 (Andreae); Toynbee, *Hadr.*, pl. 37,4.

Florence, Opera del Duomo; Robert, II, no. 159.

Rome, Vatican, Inv. 1226; Robert, II, no. 160; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 295 (Andreae).

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J. M. C. Toynbee would identify a third class of Orestes sarcophagi, represented by the Vatican example, Inv. 1226. It does differ from the others in the second group by the addition of a seated Fury on the right end. In other respects, however, it is similar and thus does not seem to me to warrant separation into a separate class. See Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 184.

5. See above, n. 4, Vatican Inv. 2513, and Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 167 ff., pl. 37,4.



55. *Fragments of an Orestes sarcophagus, Cat. No. 7*

barrow of King Agamemnon, the murdered husband of Clytemnestra and the father of Orestes, surrounded by mourning Furies.⁶ This identification seems unlikely, for not only is there no indication of Agamemnon's ghost, which appears on the famous Lateran sarcophagus in the same series (fig. 59),⁷ but also the tomb of Agamemnon is actually represented on the right short side of Cat. No. 7. The Furies follow a long iconographic tradition that can be traced back at least to early South Italian vase painting of about 380 B.C. On the famous bell-krater in the Louvre, they appear at Delphi with the ghost of Clytemnestra, and Orestes is shown in the center at the sanctuary of Apollo with no reference to Agamemnon.⁸ The compositional group is also used on the Etruscan urns, adopted for a scene from the story of Orestes and Pylades in Tauris.⁹ Since the right-hand scene in this series of Roman Orestes sarcophagi shows the tragic hero at Delphi stepping over a sleeping Fury, the Furies would rather seem here to find their meaning as a left-hand counterpart to this composition as on the vases.¹⁰ There may have been a framing corner figure also

6. Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 167.

7. See above, n. 4; Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1127 (Andreae), Inv. 10450; Sichtermann—Koch, no. 53, pp. 52–53, pl. 133,2, pls. 135–140, with additional bibliography.

8. Louvre K 710, A. Cambitoglou and A. D. Trendall, *Apulian Red-Figured Vase-Painters of the Plain Style*, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, X (Tokyo, 1961) 22, no. 1. Also see discussion of representations of Orestes at Delphi on the vases by R. R. Dyer, "The Evidence for Apolline Purification Rituals at Delphi and Athens," *JHS*, 89 (1969) 51 ff., pls. I–V.

9. F. H. Pairault, *Recherches sur quelques séries d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 12 (Rome, 1972) 143 ff. Note especially the urn in Siena, n. 730, pls. 92–93.

10. Another possible interpretation suggested to me by D. von Bothmer is that they are represented asleep before they begin their pursuit of Orestes, following Clytemnestra's death. While this interpretation is tempting, it would seem that they would then logically appear near her in the composition, which is not here the case. Rather, their placement as a separate unit of three on the left, combined with the pictorial tradition evident in the vase paintings and Etruscan urns, seems to me to favor the interpretation presented.

at the left of Cat. No. 7 similar to the female figure at the right with a torch and wings in her hair.

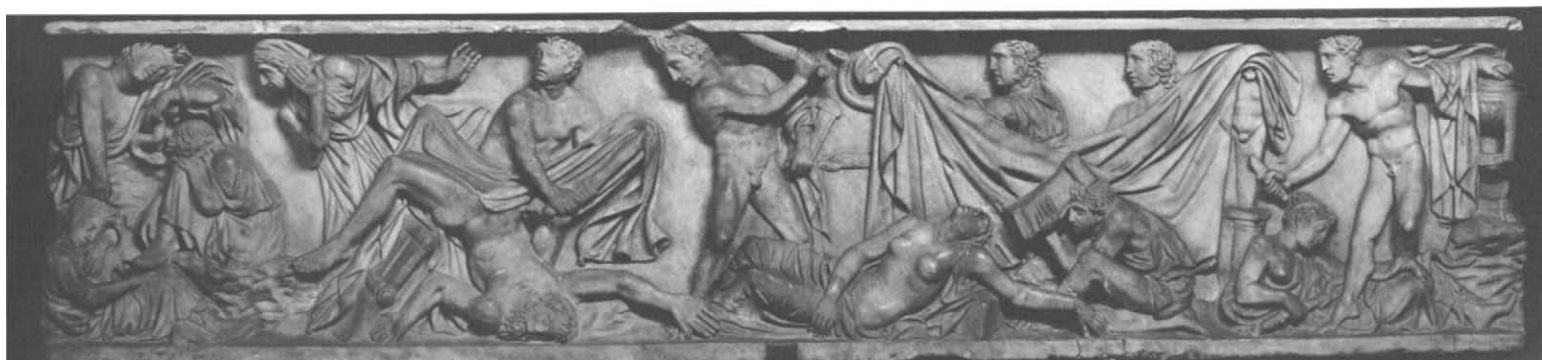
The central scene on the sarcophagus frontal panel illustrated the violent deeds of revenge: the dual murders of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra by Orestes.¹¹ It is for this deed of matricide

temple attendant painted on an early Apulian volute-krater of about 370 B.C. in Naples, which is decorated with a scene showing Orestes taking refuge at the omphalos at Delphi.¹² To the right of the nurse, the pose of the sprawled figure of the dead Aegisthus who falls backward over his stool can also be

56. Right short side of Cat. No. 7



57. Rear upper corner of left short side of Cat. No. 7



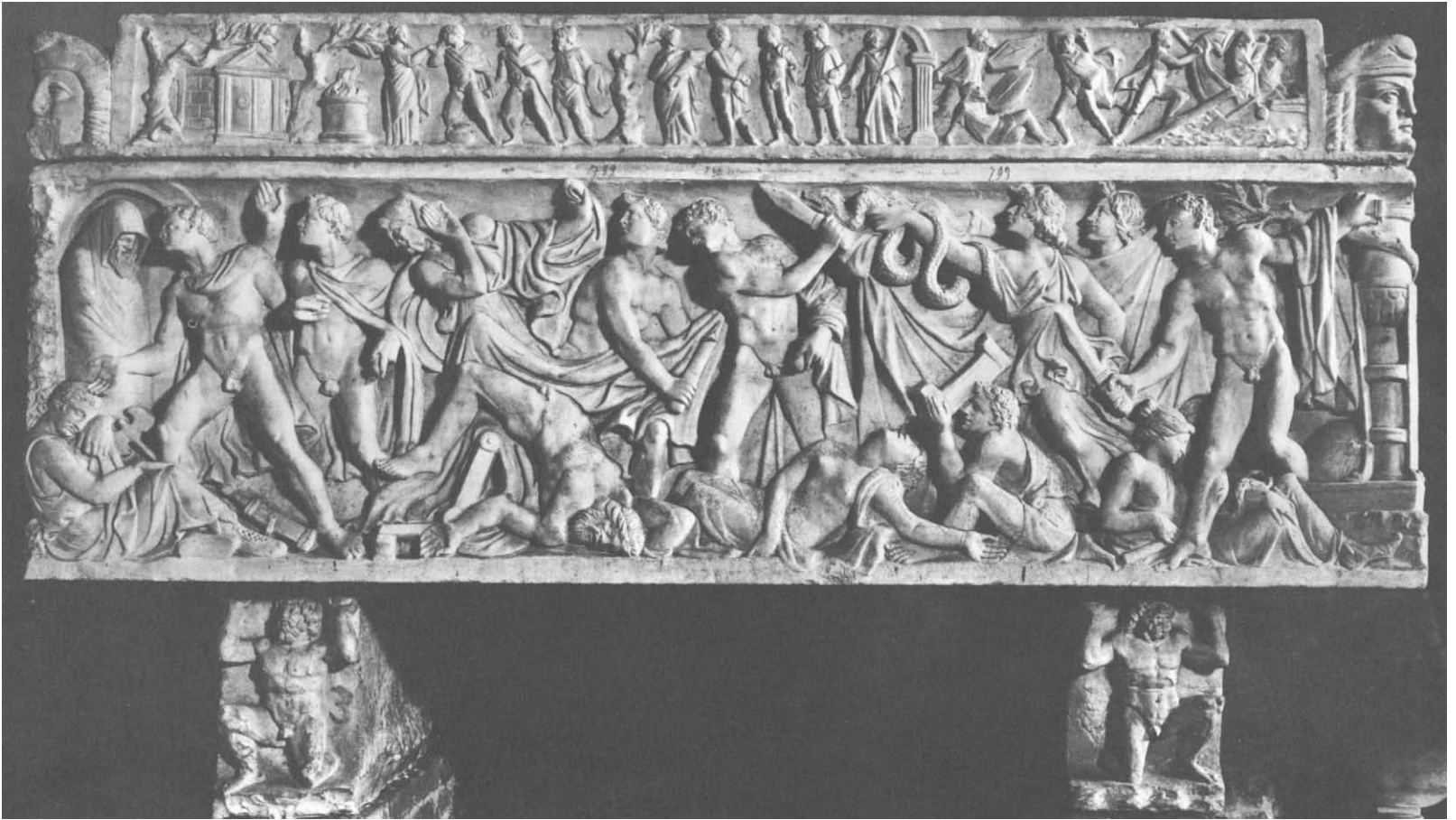
58. *Orestes sarcophagus*

Rome, Vatican, inv. 2513

that Orestes must be purified. The central scene (as illustrated on the Vatican sarcophagus, fig. 58) is intensified by the adjacent figures of the old nurse of Orestes who turns dramatically away to the left and the male servant who hides himself behind a footstool to the right of the dead Clytaemnestra. The figure of the nurse with upraised arms serves the same function as the

11. I would agree with M. Kilmer that Orestes is represented here also slaying Aegisthus rather than Pylades as on the Etruscan urns of the same subject, "Etruscan Antecedents of Roman Continuous Narrative in Painting," *AJA*, 76 (1972) 212–213. See also Pairault, *op. cit.*, 215. Furthermore, this identification follows the preserved literary tradition, where Pylades is represented as a helper but never as the actual slayer of Aegisthus (Euripides, *Electra*, 880–890; Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*, 865 ff.; Sophocles, *Electra*, 1492).

12. P. E. Arias, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (New York, 1961) pl. 239.



traced back to Greek art. While not a common motif, it is used as early as the fifth century B.C., for example, in the figure of a falling Amazon on the famous Parthenos shield,¹³ and in turn appears on a South Italian volute-krater in Taranto of the late fifth century B.C. for a male warrior.¹⁴ The artist of the sarcophagus, however, has varied the pose of the arms to fit his own compositional needs. The striding figure of Orestes with his sword upraised, who forms the focal point of the central scene, is likewise found on the same vase.¹⁵ The dead Clytemnestra lies at his feet in the familiar pose of Ariadne,¹⁶ while behind him two Furies appear already in pursuit, hidden behind hanging drapery. The latter has been interpreted as the fatal cloak of Agamemnon displayed after the matricide, as told in the plays.¹⁷ The only complete remaining figure from this dramatic central scene preserved in the Museum's example is the crouching male servant clothed in a sleeveless tunic and now lacking his head. The lower edge of Clytemnestra's half-draped body and part of her outstretched left hand, which crosses over the left leg of the servant, also is preserved, as well as the head of the Fury on the right with a section of the drapery. The herm over which the cloak is draped in the other reliefs is missing in our fragments.

The scene on the far right illustrates a later event in the tragic drama, Orestes' visit to the shrine of Apollo at Delphi,¹⁸ where he receives the promise of atonement after a trial in Athens. Fortunately, the main figures from this scene are preserved in the Museum's fragments (fig. 55). The nude figure of Orestes, complete except for his right arm, which held a sword, and his legs from the upper thighs down, departs from the sanctuary, stepping lightly over a sleeping Fury, exhausted from pursuit. The head and lower draped torso of the Fury are

13. E. Harrison, "The Composition of the Amazonomachy on the Shield of Athena Parthenos," *Hesperia*, 35 (1966) 107-133, pls. 36-41, and especially pl. 37a.

14. *CVA*, IV D r, pls. 23, 26, fig. 2. For recognition of this figure as a male warrior, rather than an Amazon, see Bothmer, 214.

15. *CVA*, IV D r, pl. 25, fig. 2. For use of this figure in Romanesque art see a capital in the church of St. Martin, Fromista, Spain, G. Gaillard, *La Sculpture romane espagnole* (Paris [n.d.]) pl. LXVII. I thank M. Ward for this reference.

16. E. Pfuhl, *Meisterwerke griechischer Zeichnung und Malerei* (Munich, 1924) 94, fig. 127, wall painting from Pompeii in Naples, showing Dionysus finding the sleeping Ariadne on Naxos.

17. Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*, 980 ff.

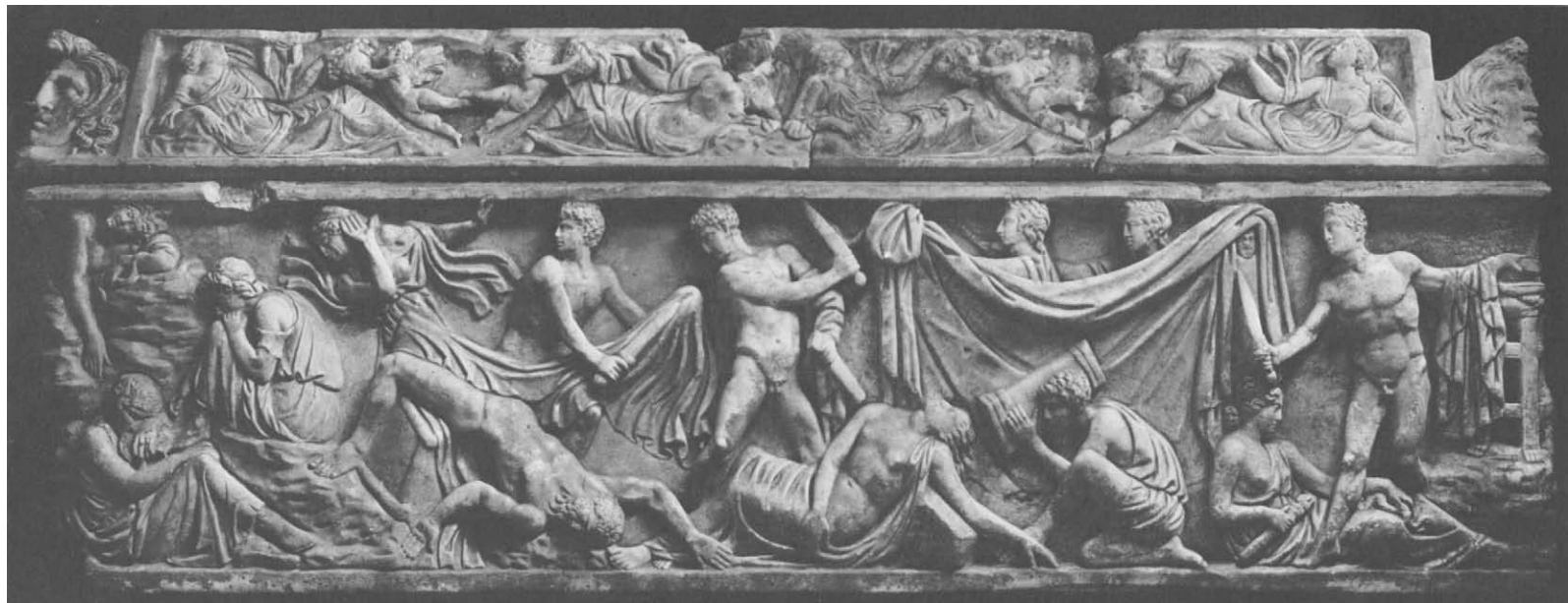
18. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 64 ff.

59. *Orestes sarcophagus*

Rome, Lateran, inv. 10450. Photo: Anderson 24194

60. *Orestes sarcophagus*

Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 31.1447



missing. The Delphic tripod at the corner that occurs in the other reliefs is here replaced in the Museum's panel by a draped female figure whose left arm holding a lighted torch appears on the right short side. In her hand is a folded object, possibly a whip, and she wears wings in her hair. Her robe is high-belted with long sleeves. This particular figure is not found on the other *Oresteia* sarcophagi of this group, but she does appear as a corner figure on the *Orestes* sarcophagus in the Hermitage, of a different type that shows Aegisthus seated on his throne in the center of the panel with Orestes attacking from the left.¹⁹ Robert has identified the corner figure as a Fury, but the wings in her hair as well as her dress distinguish her from the others. A female figure with similar wings in her hair appears on a Roman sarcophagus in Messina illustrating the story of Icarus, and M. Lawrence suggests she may be a Fate.²⁰ But she finds her closest association with demons and Furies represented on Etruscan funerary urns. On urns illustrating the *Oresteia* legend the Furies are represented as large, winged creatures in short dress, perhaps influenced by the figures of Victories on the famous altar of Pergamon.²¹ Sometimes, however, they also appear with small wings in their hair (fig. 61).²² It would seem, again, that the artist of the

Roman sarcophagus is drawing on a continuing Italic pictorial tradition. By clothing the Fury in a long skirt, the Roman artist has created a more monumental figure to frame the ends of the long panel of the sarcophagus.

The two short sides of the Museum's sarcophagus also illustrate scenes from the legends of Orestes. On the right side, two veiled female figures in traditional mourning poses are placed on either side of a pedimental tomb decorated with a laurel swag. A laurel wreath is also placed within the gable. The standing figure on the left with her foot raised upon the step of

19. Robert, II, no. 154. For another example of this scene on a newly discovered sarcophagus compare H. Sichtermann, "Ein ungewöhnlicher mythologischer Sarkophag," *AA*, 86 (1971) 116–117, *idem*, "Ein ungewöhnlicher mythologischer Sarkophag," *RM*, 78 (1971) 181–202.

20. Robert, III, 1, pp. 51 ff., pl. XI, no. 37. I am grateful to M. Lawrence for this comparison.

21. See Pairault, *op. cit.*, 155–156, 215–221, pls. 103–113.

22. For example, the figure of a Fury on the side panel of the Etruscan urn in the Vatican showing the death of Oenomaus on the frontal panel, Pairault, *op. cit.*, pl. 9b; Brunn—Körte, II, 113–114, pl. XLII, 4; see also an urn in Berlin, A. Rumpf, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der etruskischen Skulpturen* (Berlin, 1928) I, pl. 38, E 53.



61. *Etruscan funerary urn*

Chiusi, Museo Archaeologico, no. 980. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 68.3388

62. *Etruscan funerary urn*

Siena, Museo Etrusco, no. 730. Photo: Alinari 37539



the tomb must be the daughter of Agamemnon, Electra, who mourns at her father's grave with her servant girl seated on the right.²³ These same figures appear on an Etruscan funerary urn in Siena showing the same subject (fig. 62).²⁴ Presently Orestes will appear and be recognized. Our sarcophagus is unique in the series for its use of this scene on the short side and links Roman funerary art again with the Etruscan.

On the opposite short side a scene not taken from the trilogy but from Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* is included: the recognition scene between Iphigeneia and her brother Orestes.²⁵ According to Euripides, Orestes comes to Tauris with Pylades to obtain the cult statue of Artemis that will free him from his madness. In the Museum's sarcophagus the upper body of Iphigeneia is still preserved, turned to the right. In her right hand she holds the letter through which the recognition is later achieved. Only the left profile of Orestes remains with his right arm and leg. His lower left leg is also preserved adjoining the lower right leg of Pylades, who is otherwise missing. A similar scene can be found on the Orestes sarcophagus in the Palazzo Giustiniani.²⁶

For the decoration of the lid, the artist of Cat. No. 7 also drew upon the Tauric drama, as did the artist of the famous Lateran sarcophagus (fig. 59), the best in the series and surely carved by a master. Only the right corner scene is preserved from the Museum's frieze, but when complete it must have illustrated the episodes in the story represented on the Lateran lid. The recognition scene between Orestes and Iphigeneia in front of the temple of Artemis would have been represented on the far left. In the center, Iphigeneia stood holding the sacred image of the goddess with Orestes, Pylades, and a Taurian soldier. They are watched by the Taurian king Thoas, who is seen under an arch. The fragments of Cat. No. 7 on the right show Orestes striding up the gangplank of the ship in which his sister awaits him with her attendant and a sailor.²⁷ The decorative curved stern with one of the side rudders and tiller bar are clearly visible.²⁸ Behind Orestes, the round shield of Pylades, who still fights with the pursuing Taurians, is pre-

23. Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers*.

24. L. Curtius, "Orest und Iphigenie in Tauris," *RM*, 49 (1934) 267, fig. 8; Pairault, *op. cit.*, pl. 88.

25. 725 ff.

26. See above, n. 4.

27. See Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1379 ff.

28. Cf. particularly the stern of a galley represented on an Etruscan funerary urn in the Guarnacci Museum in Volterra, Pairault, *op. cit.*, pl. 114a. Also see the stern of a galley on a Roman relief in the Palazzo Spada of the second century A.D., L. Casson, *Ships and Seaman-ship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971) 224, fig. 114, or the stern of a Roman trireme, a relief in Naples of the first century B.C. or first century A.D., *ibid.*, fig. 129.

served. In a separate fragment, Pylades' left leg and that of a fallen barbarian can be seen.²⁹ For the corner decoration of the lid the artist also draws upon the Tauric story, using the head of a Taurian with his pointed cap.

The frequently discussed question of whether or not any of these individual scenes used for the decoration of the Orestes sarcophagi may be traced back to a lost Greek painting by Theon or Theoros remains unproved.³⁰ It is significant that, for one scene, the double murder of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, it is not to Greek vase painting but to Etruscan funerary urns that one must turn.³¹ This evidence, as well as that cited above from the South Italian vases, suggests that while individual figure types may be traced back to the Greek world, the composition of the whole has not been copied from another realm but is the creation of the Roman designer. It should also be remembered that some of the motifs may have originally been inspired by theatrical performances of the Greek plays in southern Italy rather than derived from lost paintings.

Taken as a whole, the Orestes sarcophagus in the Museum's collection illustrates well the Roman artist's free use of varied sources from the Greek tragedies. No one literary source is used, and elements from a number of plays are selected to form a new artistic whole. The significance of the scenes for funerary art is discussed by J. M. C. Toynbee who challenged the earlier interpretation of the scenes as "continuous narra-

tive."³² She points out that the scenes are indeed not continuous in time and do not follow any one version of the story as told by the Greek dramatists. Rather, "striking, epoch-making moments" have been deliberately selected with an intended symbolic meaning. Moreover, one can further see the trials of Orestes as signifying the trials of the deceased on earth, while the promise of his purification in the Delphic episode provides hope for the deceased spirit. Greek tragedy has been freely

29. For sarcophagi using these themes for the design of the frontal relief, see Robert, II, pl. LVIII, nos. 172–176.

30. Pliny, *Natural History*, 35, 144. See especially Lippold, 85; A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1909) II, 75–80 (Furtwängler); E. Vermeule, "The Boston Oresteia Krater," *AJA*, 70 (1966) 19. For a list of the Greek vases illustrating the Oresteia legend, see Vermeule, *op. cit.*, 13 ff., and Brommer,³ 448–457; L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris, 1926) 86–101. For the most recent discussion of problems concerning the representations, see M. Davies, "Thoughts on the 'Oresteia' before Aischylos," *BCH*, 93 (1969) 214–260; *idem*, "The Death of Aegisthos: A Fragmentary Stamnos by the Copenhagen Painter," *Opuscula Romana*, 9 (1973) 117 ff., with earlier bibliography.

31. Brunn—Körte, I, pls. LXXV, 1,2; LXXVI, 3; LXXVII, 4,5; LXVIII, 6,7; LXXIX, 8,9; LXXX, 10.

32. *Hadr.*, 164 ff.; cf. E. Strong, *Roman Sculpture* (New York, 1969) 254–267, and F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (New York, 1900) 165–167.

63. *Niobid sarcophagus*

Rome, Lateran, inv. 10437. Photo: Vatican



used and combined into a new dramatic and artistic whole which now serves Roman funerary art.

The chronology of the Orestes sarcophagi first presented by Robert has largely been followed by later scholars. He separated the sarcophagi into two classes: one showing the death of Aegisthus in the center on his throne, as illustrated on the Leningrad sarcophagus, and the second, more common group to which ours belongs, with the two deaths as the central motif with adjacent related scenes. Within this second group, Robert and others place the Lateran sarcophagus as the earliest, with the more simplified compositions illustrated by the Museum's example as later. The Lateran sarcophagus has traditionally been dated about 134 on the basis of the evidence of the brick stamps belonging to the tomb in which it was found. It has recently been rightly pointed out, however, that such evidence can be used only to date the tomb itself and does not necessarily date the sarcophagi within it, which could have been added later, as has happened in other cases.³³ Moreover, the two other sarcophagi found with the Lateran one are different in both their style and marble and cannot be from the same period.³⁴ Thus, a date in the Hadrianic age for the Lateran sarcophagus is not, after all, assured from external evidence, and in comparison with the other sarcophagi in the series it rather seems to be later in date. The Lateran's higher and

broader form with the compact scene filled with figures is later in the evolution of sarcophagi forms than the long, low casket with the more simplified compositional design along a single ground line. The use of a framing corner figure on Cat. No. 7 is also an early motif,³⁵ which is used as well in the Leningrad one. The style of the Museum's remaining figures with the classical modeling of the nude and the restrained use of the drill further supports an early date for the group. Cat. No. 7 may be compared in style to other sarcophagi that have been dated stylistically between 150 and 165.³⁶ Within the chronology of the Museum's collection, it can be placed between the earlier Endymion sarcophagus [Cat. No. 3] and the fragment showing Herakles struggling with the Nemean lion [Cat. No. 10]. Though fragmentary, Cat. No. 7 remains of special interest to the student of Greek tragedy. Furthermore, it reflects an early stage in the evolution of Roman sarcophagi, when violent scenes from mythology were especially in vogue, a tradition that apparently springs from the Hadrianic period.

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Alexander, 38–40, fig. 103; Toynbee, *Had.*, 181, n. 1; L. Curtius, "Orest und Iphigenie in Tauris," *RM*, 49 (1934) 252, n. 1.

33. Turcan, 25 ff.; cf. H. Sichtermann, "Der Niobiden-Sarkophag in Providence," *JdI*, 83 (1968) 186 ff. I am grateful to B. Andreae for this reference.

34. For the Niobid sarcophagus see Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1129 (Andreae), Inv. 10437 (our fig. 63). Sichtermann—Koch, no. 49, p. 50, pl. 122,1. For the garland sarcophagus, Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1128, Inv. 10443 (our fig. 13).

The differences in style among these three magnificent sarcophagi found in a tomb near the Porta Viminalis was first brought to my attention by M. Lawrence, who is also of the opinion that the two mythological sarcophagi are later in date than the garland one. J. Ward Perkins, who has kindly shared his views with me, also believes in a later date for the two mythological sarcophagi on the basis of their different marbles and the unusual Atlas supports for their coffins, which suggest that they may have been made as a pair, after the garland sarcophagus. Both the coffin and lid of the Orestes sarcophagus are of Proconnesian marble, while the Niobid sarcophagus is completely of Luni, a marble of fine crystalline structure that lends itself well to the carving of details. The garland sarcophagus, on the other hand, is of Pentelic. Ward Perkins will present his ideas shortly in a forthcoming article.

This writer has come to similar conclusions, although I suggest that the Niobid sarcophagus is the latest of the three on the basis of its increased pictorial style and higher relief, having a maximum depth of 0.11 m. in comparison with the Orestes sarcophagus with a depth of about 0.05 m., close to our Museum's example. In conclusion, I should suggest that the garland sarcophagus belonged to the original occupant of the tomb and thus must date in the 130s. The Orestes sarcophagus appears to be about ten years later, following general stylistic evolutionary trends, and the Niobid still later, perhaps dating in the 160s.

35. See discussion of the battle sarcophagus [Cat. No. 18] below, p. 116.

36. For example, cf. the Argonaut sarcophagus in the Museo Praetextatus, Rome, Gütschow, pl. 1,1. See rev. by G. Hanfmann, *AJA*, 45 (1941) 496. Also compare sarcophagi with Dioscuri and Leucippidae in Florence, the Uffizi, and Rome, Vatican (Lehmann—Olsen, 57, fig. 43).

B. Andreae also suggested to me a comparison of the Museum's Orestes sarcophagus with the Neoptolemus sarcophagus in the Terme Museum, Rome, dated about 162 by Sichtermann—Koch, no. 46, pp. 48–49, pls. 118,2; 119–121.



8. Fragments of a Dying Meleager Sarcophagus

20.187

Mid-Antonine, third quarter of the second century.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Rogers Fund.

Marble of ancient section, Luni. Renaissance restoration on right, Pentelic. Max. H. 3 ft. 2 in. (0.97 m.); max. W. 3 ft. 10½ in. (1.18 m.).

THE JOINING fragments belong to a frontal relief (fig. 64) of a rectangular sarcophagus illustrating the carrying home of the dying hero of the Calydonian boar hunt, Meleager. The uppermost section with the heads of the mourning figures was

64. *Fragments of a Dying Meleager sarcophagus, Cat. No. 8*

restored in the Renaissance.¹ The lowest section, which is composed of four pieces joining to form the sloping lower edge of the sarcophagus, appears to be ancient but not to have

1. M. Weinberger, "A Sixteenth Century Restorer," *ArtB*, 27 (1945) 266 ff. Cf. O. Raggio, *Early Renaissance Sculpture from Northern Italy 1440–1540* (New York, 1973) no. 17. Weinberger believes that the restorer was Valerio Cioli of Florence and that the work was done in Rome before 1561. O. Raggio of the Metropolitan Museum, who has kindly looked at the relief with me, rather connects the style with Padua in the early sixteenth century and specifically with that of Andrea Bregno. This stylistic association also seems closer to this writer. Cf. the Metropolitan's sculpture of St. Andrew by A. Bregno (acc. no. 17.190.1736).



65. *Meleager sarcophagus*

Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili. Photo: German Arch. Inst.
71.1474

belonged to the original monument. Its outwardly curving shape and the dressing of the stone are different as well as the fact that some of the remaining feet do not line up with the figures above them. The ancient pieces of the central part of the relief include: the whole figure of Meleager with the draped bodies of his two companions who support him and the body and head of a third figure who bears the hero's legs

upon his shoulders; the lower half of the man to the far right dressed in a military tunic, mantle, and boots decorated with lion heads, probably to be identified with Oeneus, the father of Meleager; finally, the section that adjoins the left shoulder of the figure at the far left and includes the lower bust of the soldier in low relief behind, the bust and lower half of the face of the bearded pedagogue standing behind Meleager with his

66. *Detail of fig. 65*



left arm raised, the bust and lower half of the face, including the nose, of the bearded head to the right of the pedagogue, and the complete head of the figure turning left, who covers his face with his hand and mantle. All the other heads are restorations by the Renaissance artist, who further tried to assimilate an ancient surface by imitating breaks with his chisel. For example, note the diagonal slashes across the neck and hand of the right figure covering his face and across the right shoulder and chest of Oeneus.

The story of Meleager, the son of Oeneus, king of Calydon, and Althaea, is known from two different literary traditions, one Homeric, the other non-Homeric.² The scene on our sarcophagus derives from the non-Homeric version, which comes down to us through later authors such as Apollodorus, whose ultimate source was probably Euripides. According to this tradition Meleager's death is caused by his mother, Althaea, who burns his life token, an extinguished brand from the hearth which she had kept hidden in a chest since shortly after his birth. She later repents and kills herself, to the sorrow of her father, Thestius. The sisters of Meleager weep increasingly

after his death until Artemis changes them into guinea hens. While the famous scene of the boar hunt of Meleager (fig. 65) is common to both Greek and Roman monuments,³ this non-Homeric version of his death is found only on Roman monuments. Both the bearing home of his body and the mourning at his bier are represented on Roman sarcophagi (figs. 65–69).⁴ The remaining sections of our relief may be completed from similar examples. Our fragment is closest to the scene on a now very worn sarcophagus in the Palazzo Barberini that shows Meleager's chariot drawn by two horses on the far left, followed by the homecoming scene led by Oeneus (fig. 69).⁵ On the right the repentant Althaea is held back by her daughters followed by her mourning old father, Thestius, with two male figures on the far right. Our fragment thus comes from the left center of a frontal panel. It is interesting to note that the Renaissance restorer drew upon the other mourning Meleager sarcophagus type illustrating the scene around his bier. For example, the motif of the figure covering his face with his mantle has been taken from this scene.⁶

The theme of the dying hero whose fated death is mourned

2. *RE*, XV, 1, "Meleagros," cols. 446 ff. (Geffcken); *OCD*, "Meleager," 554 ff.; Apollodorus, *The Library*, I, VIII, 1–3.

3. For a recent study of this type on Roman sarcophagi, with earlier bibliography, see K. Fittschen, *Meleager Sarkophag*, Liebieghaus Monographie, 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1975).

4. For basic study, see Robert, III, 2, pp. 268 ff., pls. LXX–XCVIII. Also see H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, 1912) 268, no. 115, pl. 63; G. Becatti, "Un sarcofago di Perugia e l'officina del maestro delle imprese di Marco Aurelio," *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York, 1964) 30 ff., figs. 1–11; Bozzo, no. 12. I am grateful to Dr. E. Fabbrocotti for these last references.

For the Museum's type, see Robert's class IIIc, nos. 283–308, pp. 343–359, pls. xciv–xcviii. G. Koch, "Verschollene Meleager-Sarkophag," *AA*, 88 (1973) 287–293, notes that he is preparing a volume on the Meleager sarcophagi not available at the time of the preparation of this publication in this country. B. Andreae kindly supplied the reference for Cat. No. 8 cited below.

5. Robert, III, 2, no. 287, pp. 349 ff., pl. xcvi. Also cf. fragment in the Vatican, Helbig,⁴ I, no. 294, p. 231.

6. For example, cf. a sarcophagus of this type in Wilton House, England, Robert, III, 2, no. 275, pl. LXXXIX.





67. *Fragment of a Dying Meleager sarcophagus*

Rome, Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti. Photo: German Arch.
Inst. 71.1727

by his companions combined with the sorrowing mother forms a natural prototype for the Christian scene of the Deposition of Christ. That Meleager sarcophagi were known to Renaissance artists is well attested.⁷ Our fragment is a particularly fine one in the series, and perhaps it was restored to be used as a tomb relief for a Paduan patron of the arts, as was the Palazzo Barberini sarcophagus (fig. 69), which became a grave monument for the Branchi family.⁸ The nude body of Meleager is sensitively modeled, and his half-closed eyes and the limp movement of his arms give a keen sense of waning life. Fluidity of movement runs through the figures, creating a rhythmic and unified composition.

Both the formal beauty and the emotional meaning of the Meleager scene must have been particularly appealing to artists of the High Renaissance in their search for a new and monumental classical style. In fact, the similarity of the scene to that in Titian's early painting of the Entombment of Christ, created between 1526 and 1532, now in the Louvre (fig. 70), has already been noted.⁹ The picture was probably painted for the Margrave Federigo of Mantua or his mother, Isabella d'Este, and was in the ducal palace at Mantua until 1628 when it was sold to Charles I of England. Titian's handling of the body of Christ with his one arm supported by the background figure of St. John and the other hanging downward indicates his knowledge of a similar Meleager group. The two figures holding the body of Meleager are also used but transformed through Titian's extraordinary power and painterly imagination. Moreover, the emotionalism of the Virgin and Mary



70. *Entombment of Christ, by Titian*

Paris, Louvre. Photo: Alinari 23252



71. *Entombment of Christ, bronze plaquette by Andrea Riccio.*

Beginning of the sixteenth century

MMA, Rogers Fund, 39.144

7. A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance* (Zurich, 1947) 61 ff.; A. Bush-Brown, "Giotto: Two Problems in the Origin of His Style," *ArtB*, 34 (1952) 42 ff.

8. Robert, III, 2, pp. 349 ff., pl. xcvi.

9. A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture* (London, 1929) 376; H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, I, The Religious Paintings* (London, 1969) cat. no. 36, p. 89, pl. 75. See H. Tietze, *Titian, Paintings and Drawings* (London, 1937) 338, fig. 65. For a basic and stimulating article on Titian's use of ancient sources, see O. Brendel, "Borrowings from Ancient Art in Titian," *ArtB*, 37 (1955) 113-125, especially 119.

68. *Mourning of Meleager sarcophagus*

Paris, Louvre, MA 539

69. *Dying Meleager sarcophagus*

Rome, Palazzo Barberini. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 56.1726

Magdalen has its counterpart in the mourning figures around Meleager. Titian never directly copied but reshaped classical forms as he created his own monumental and expressive style.¹⁰ Could it be that Titian actually saw our restored Meleager relief when he was in Padua in his earlier career or during his period of activity in Mantua?¹¹ We can only speculate, for unfortunately the earlier history of Cat. No. 8 is unknown. The other documented Meleager sarcophagi of this type, known to Renaissance artists, were in Rome, which Titian probably would have known only after his documented visit there in 1545–1546.¹² His early painting of the Entombment in turn became a key monument for the later evolution of the Deposition type, for it was copied by Rubens and Delacroix among others and was surely known to Van Dyck.¹³ The Museum's Homecoming of Meleager thus may have

provided direct inspiration to Renaissance artists searching for a new classical style, which was then passed on again through the transformed Roman sarcophagus group.¹⁴

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10. For the re-use of ancient sources in general, see E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 4 (1932–1933) 228 ff., 278.

11. For Titian's early commissions in Padua, see Wethey, *op. cit.*, 9 ff. For his period in Mantua, *ibid.*, 23 ff.

12. *Ibid.*, 28 ff.

13. *Ibid.*, 90.

14. For the use of the motif in sculpture of the Renaissance, see a bronze plaque of the Entombment, in the Metropolitan, by Andrea Riccio (acc. no. 39.144; our fig. 71). For a similar plaque, see L. Planiscig, *Andrea Riccio* (Vienna, 1927) 284, fig. 326.

For the use of the sarcophagus type showing the mourning of Meleager at his bier in Renaissance sculpture, see H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1957) no. 315, p. 187, Entombment from the high altar of S. Antonio, Padua. Here the motif of the mourning figure with the hand raised to his face is adapted. For Ghiberti's use of the same motif and others from the scene, see R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Princeton, 1956) 348, nos. 46, 49, 50, pls. 104b, 108a,b, scenes of Moses and Joshua from the Gates of Paradise in Florence.

For the Greek origin of the iconography of the dead Meleager, note the figures of Sleep and Death with the body of Sarpedon on the calyx-krater by Euphronios in the Metropolitan's collection (acc. no. 1972.11.10), D. von Bothmer, "Greek Vase Painting: An Introduction," *BMAA*, 31 (1972–1973) no. 15. The type was invented by Euphronios in the sixth century B.C. and was adopted in the second half of the fifth century for lekythoi that show Sleep and Death with a body. One may compare also the dead Hector on an Apulian volute-krater, Leningrad St 422, *Monumenti Inediti Publicati dall'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, V, pl. 11; J. W. Graham, "The Ransom of Hector on a New Melian Relief," *AJA*, 62 (1958) 315, pl. 83, fig. 5. For an Apulian representation of the dying Meleager see Naples Stg 11, A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London, 1971) 99, III.3.40. I am grateful to D. von Bothmer for this information and bibliography.



72. *Fragment of an Achilles sarcophagus, Cat. No. 9*

9. Fragment of an Achilles Sarcophagus

18.145.41

Mid-Antonine, 160–180.

Formerly in Rome, Palazzo Camuccini. Purchased by John Marshall. Rogers Fund.

Greek marble, white with medium-sized crystals. Max. H. 9 in. (0.23 m.); max. W. 1 ft. 10 in. (0.56 m.); max. D. 4¼ in. (0.11 m.).

THE SMALL fragment (fig. 72) forms the lower right corner of a rectangular sarcophagus illustrating the discovery of Achilles by Odysseus on the island of Skyros. From the frontal scene there remain only a Roman cuirass lying on its side at the corner and three feet. The armor is decorated with a winged Gorgoneion, snakes tied at the neck, and a single row of plain, semicircular *pteryges*, or tabs. Fringed straps form the skirt, which swings out below the breastplate and short sleeves of the chiton. The cuirass is broken at the right shoulder and along the upper right edge of the armor. In front of the cuirass the bare, right foot and ankle of Diomedes is preserved and, at the left, part of the sandaled foot of Odysseus. Behind the latter, the right sandaled foot of Phoenix is visible. All the figures stand upon a shallow raised surface, the pointed edge of which is defined above the lower preserved rim of the trough. Perhaps this unusual motif is intended to represent a carpet,

indicating the setting of the story inside the palace. From the right, short side only the rounded edge of an object (a shield?) is preserved. The surface is scratched, chipped, and worn, but the high quality of the original carving can still be appreciated.

The Museum's fragment belongs to a large group of sarcophagi illustrating the life of Achilles, of which his deeds and death at Troy are the most well known.¹ The earlier episode of his discovery on Skyros, which comes before his participation in the Trojan war, survives in eighteen examples known to me.² The closest in iconography to the Museum's piece and used for the identification above is the sarcophagus in the collection of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (fig. 73).³ Its frontal panel is complete and allows us to reconstruct the full scene. The left-hand group shows four of the daughters of King Lycomedes of Skyros. The two in the

1. Robert, II, nos. 20–67, pls. VI–XXVI; nos. 88–109, pls. XXXVII–XLV (Achilles and Penthesilea). For further discussion of Achilles and Penthesilea, see Redlich, especially 72 ff., and Bothmer, 4 ff., 72, 145 ff.

2. Robert, II, nos. 27–42, pls. XVIII–XX.

3. *Ibid.*, no. 34, pl. XIX; A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of the Sculpture at Woburn Abbey* (London, 1900), no. 71; C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *AJA*, 60 (1956) 348.

foreground carry musical instruments, the one on the left a flute and the one on the right a lyre. In the center, Achilles is represented in female dress, his head turned to the right. He holds a spear in his right hand and a round shield in his left, while his plumed, embossed helmet lies at his feet. Deidamia, the daughter of King Lycomedes who bore Achilles a son, kneels at his feet and grasps his left leg as she turns imploringly toward the figures at the right. Behind her another sister holds up the *parapetasma* that covers the background of both the left and central groups. Two cupids with torches play at Deidamia's feet. The right-hand group is formed by Odysseus, who is bearded and wears a short tunic, followed by his armored companion Diomedes. Between them in lower relief a further Greek ambassador, Phoenix, has been identified wearing a beard and cap. Completing the corner group, in lower relief behind Diomedes is a boy blowing a trumpet, absent from the Museum's fragment.

This episode in the earlier life of Achilles before his participation in the Trojan war is not known from Homer but from later authors who wished to round out his biography.⁴ Disguised as a girl, Achilles is hidden among the daughters of King Lycomedes by his father, Peleus, or by his mother, Thetis, who has foreseen his death if he fights in the Trojan war. The original designer of the sarcophagus has aptly chosen the dramatic moment in the story when Achilles is recognized by Odysseus, who has been sent by the Greeks to bring him to their aid. Odysseus and Diomedes, disguised as merchants selling their usual trinkets as well as armor, enter the palace where Achilles is hidden. Achilles reveals his identity as he enthusiastically seizes upon a sword and shield. Only Deidamia's gestures suggest the tragedy to follow, for Achilles' destiny will now be fulfilled—to lead a short but glorious life. Perhaps this

particular myth was originally selected as an appropriate decoration for a sarcophagus of a young Roman warrior who shared a similar fate.

We know from literary sources that the subject was known in Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries. Pausanias (I, 22,6) records that Polygnotos painted Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes, and Pliny specifically records that Athenion of Maroneia, a fourth-century artist, painted "Achilles, in the guise of a maiden, at the moment of detection by Odysseus; a picture containing six figures" (*Natural History*, XXXV, 134).⁵ Pliny also writes that Theon of Samos painted a cycle of scenes illustrating Homer's *Iliad* that decorated the gallery of Philip in Rome (*Natural History*, XXXV, 144).⁶ Whether or not the artist of the Roman sarcophagus relief drew upon sources derived from any of these lost Greek paintings cannot be proved.⁷ What is clear is that a source from Roman painting was used for the design. The earliest representations of the subject preserved are from Pompeiian paint-

4. "Achilles," *OCD*, 4 ff.; "Achilleus," in Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, I, cols. 12 ff. (Fleischer). For the relationship of the Latin poem of Statius to scenes illustrating the Achilles cycle in art, see K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1971) 19–21, 165–168; *idem*, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, 1959) 54 ff. For other representations of the Skyros story in art, see P. Bocci, "Achilles," *EAA*, with further bibliography.

5. Trans. by K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, rev. ed. (Chicago, 1968).

6. For date of Theon, see J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece 1400–31 B.C.*, Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965) 220, n. 2.

7. For a discussion of the problem, see especially Lippold, 17, 72; Curtius, 206 ff., pl. II; G. E. Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana* (Milan, 1929) 36, 39, pls. 57, 65; M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929) 284, figs. 456, 457.

73. Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes, sarcophagus
Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey



ing of the first century, the most famous of which is in the House of the Dioscuri.⁸ The closest comparison with the central compositional group on the sarcophagus, however, is with the painting from the House of Holconius, unfortunately now lost (fig. 74).⁹ The Campanian painter shows Deidamia grasping Achilles' leg with Odysseus striding in at the right and the trumpet player behind him in the background. It is this particular painting which has usually been connected with the lost painting by Athenion.¹⁰ But we do not have any evidence of what this fourth-century painting looked like, and the subject does not appear on Greek vases.¹¹ Rather, it would appear to be the creation of a Roman artist, and the spatial setting argues for this hypothesis. His compositional design would then have been copied in sketchbooks surely available to the sculptural workshops of Rome. The popularity of the original painting is further reflected in its use in the famous bronze plaques decorating the "Tensa Capitolina," a triumphal chariot in which the images of the gods were carried in the procession at the opening of the games at the Circus.¹² The plaques have usually been dated in the third century,¹³ but most recently a date in the fourth century has been offered.¹⁴ In any case, scholars agree that the deeds of Achilles represented on the plaques go back to an ancient picture cycle, perhaps fixed in the Antonine period, in imitation of the popular twelve labors of Herakles.¹⁵

The style of Cat. No. 9 suggests a date in the mid-Antonine period. The foot of Diomedes is still finely modeled with the ankle bone and toenails indicated. Linear details of the sandals of the two remaining feet are also sensitively carved, and the modeling of the torso of the cuirass conveys a vigorous sense of three-dimensional form. The straps of the skirt are deeply cut and swing in a lively rhythm. Furthermore, the form of the cuirass itself, with the single row of simple tabs, is the type used in the second half of the second century.¹⁶ These details, combined with the increased depth of the relief, indicate a date probably in the decades between 160 and 180. It may be compared with the famous Ammendola battle sarcophagus, which is dated by its style in the third quarter of the second century (figs. 143–144).¹⁷ Although only a fragment, the Museum's piece allows us to experience the high quality of the original sarcophagus. It also serves to remind us of the use of Roman painting as a source in the creation of the popular mythological scenes decorating Roman sarcophagi of the second century.

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Robert, II, no. 36, pl. xix; Pinney, 242.



74. *Discovery of Achilles on Skyros, lost painting*

Pompeii, House of Holconius. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 32.1696

8. L. Richardson, *Pompeii: The Casa dei Dioscuri and Its Painters*, MAAR, 23 (Rome, 1955) 135 ff., pl. 32; E. Pfuhl, *Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting* (New York, 1955) 103 ff., pl. 89, fig. 123.
9. Rizzo, *op. cit.*, pl. 65; *Giornale degli scavi* (Naples, 1861), pl. x. For other examples of the subject in painting, see W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Leipzig, 1868) no. 1296, p. 280.
10. See especially Swindler, *op. cit.*, 284.
11. See Brommer,³ 333–334, for illustrations of the Iliupersis on Greek vases.
12. F. Staehlin, "Die Thensa Capitolina," *RM*, 21 (1906) 332 ff.; Jones, 179, no. 13, pls. 68, 73; Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1546 (E. Simon).
13. Staehlin, *op. cit.* (Severan); Jones (mid-third century).
14. E. Simon in Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1546, with bibliography. L. Guerrini proposed a date in the middle of the fourth century, but E. Simon argues for the time of the Tetrarchs.
15. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, 54 ff.
16. C. C. Vermeule, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus*, 13 (1959) 23 ff., 64 ff., pls. xx, xxi. Note also the use of this type on other sarcophagi of the period, for example, the battle sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo, dated below (p. 115) around 160–170, or the Pamphylian sarcophagus in Providence, Ridgway, no. 38, pls. 213–215. For undecorated *ptyrges* on a cuirass used on a statue in the round, see the portrait of Antoninus Pius in the museum at Philippeville, S. Gsell, *Musées de Philippeville* (Paris, 1898) 60, pl. viii.
17. Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1215.

10. Fragment of a Herakles Sarcophagus

18.145.56

Late Antonine, 170–180.

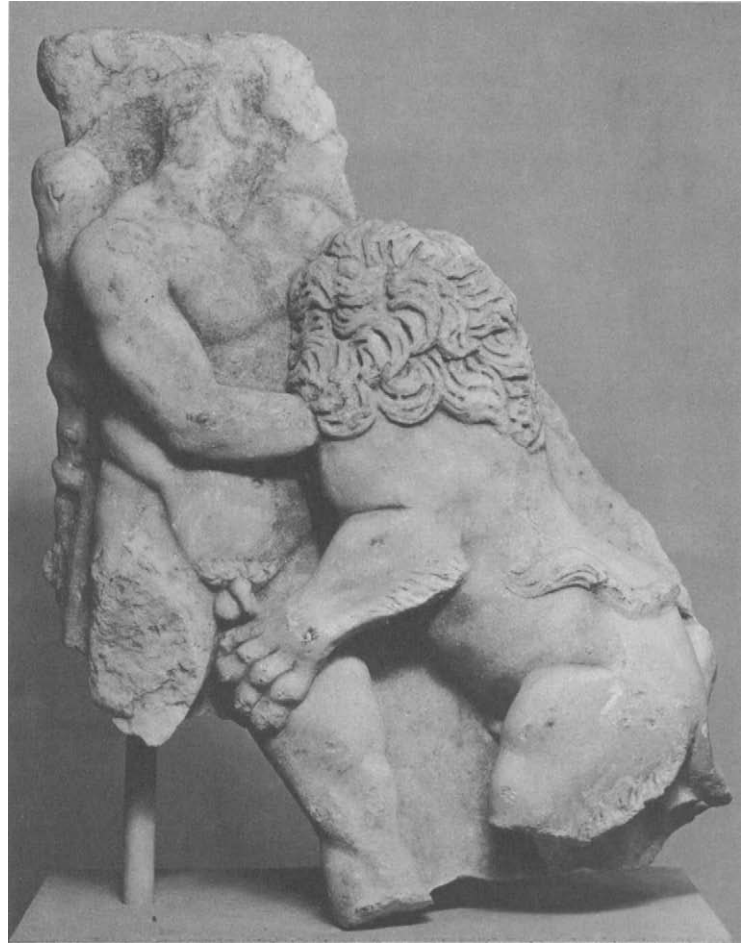
Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Rogers Fund.

Greek marble. Max. H. 1 ft. 10½ in. (0.57 m.); max. W. of frontal relief 1 ft. 6½ in. (0.47 m.); max. W. of left short side 6 in. (0.15 m.); D. of relief 3½ in. (0.09 m.).

THE FRAGMENT forms the left corner of a Western rectangular sarcophagus illustrating the Labors of Herakles (fig. 75). The upper, slightly sloping rim of the coffin is still intact with the left-hand scene from the frontal panel showing Herakles' first labor, the struggle with the Nemean lion, almost completely preserved. Only a small section of the short side (fig. 76) remains, which, when it was complete, showed Herakles leading Cerberus out from the lower world. Missing from the frontal group are: the head of Herakles, his right leg from the upper thigh, his left leg from the mid-calf and both hind legs of the lion. Behind the lion's rump a rounded form is visible, probably part of the body of the Lernean hydra from the adjoining group. From the short, adjoining side only the club of the hero is preserved with his left shoulder and arm, the lower part of which is wrapped in a fold of the lion's skin. The surface is incrustated, discolored, and chipped in places but otherwise in fair condition. There appear to be faint traces of red color in the drill channels of the lion's mane. The drill is used in deep, long furrows to outline the tangled clumps of hair of the mane, while the chisel is used to sketch in the fringe of fur on the lion's left paw, leg, and tail.

The Museum's fragment belongs to a large group of sarcophagi that illustrate the Labors of Herakles, set both in continuous friezes and in separate groups placed within niches framed by columns (figs. 77, 78).¹ The subject was an especially popular one in funerary art of the second half of the second century. Through the labors of the hero who achieved immortality, the deceased could also express his own hopes. Moreover, Herakles is unusually represented in the earlier groups as a beardless youth and in the later ones as a mature man with a beard. Used in a funerary context, the cycle probably then also alluded to the human cycle of life with the implication that at the end of a life successfully lived, a place in the beyond would be assured.

Because of the isolated and sculptural character of the indi-



75. *Fragments of a Herakles sarcophagus, Cat. No. 10*

vidual groups as well as the existing evidence from sculpture in the round, the Roman Herakles sarcophagi have long been used as evidence of a lost statuary cycle illustrating the theme.² In Greek art, the Labors of Herakles are associated with the name of the famous fourth-century sculptor Lysippos.³ Strabo documents the existence of such a statuary cycle by the artist, which stood in a sanctuary near Alyzia in Acarnania and was later carried away by the Romans.⁴ There has been a good deal of literature on the subject, and Lysippos' connection with at

1. Robert, II, 1, 101–139, pls. xxviii–xlvi. Cf. K. Fittschen, "Der Herakles-Sarkophag in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rom. Eine Arbeit der Renaissance?," *BullComm*, 82 (1970–1971) 63 ff.

2. F. Matz, "Sui sarcofaghi con rappresentanze delle dodici fatiche di Ercole," *Annali*, XL (1868) 259 ff.; P. Johnson, *Lysippos* (Durham, 1927) 190 ff.; E. Loeffler, "Lysippos' Labors of Herakles," *Marsyas*, 6 (1950–1953) 8–24; A. von Salis, *Löwenkampfbilder des Lysipp*, Winckelmannsprogramm, 112 (Berlin, 1956).

3. Bieber, 36.

4. Strabo, *Geography*, X, 459.



76. Section of the left short side of Cat. No. 10

77. *Deeds of Herakles sarcophagus*

Florence, Uffizi, inv. 110. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 72.154



least some of the groups portrayed on the Roman sarcophagi is now well established.⁵

The first labor, the hero fighting with the Nemean lion, is represented by two distinct types on the sarcophagi. One shows Herakles after the fight, facing forward with the hind paw of the lion held in his left hand and the body at his feet.⁶ The second type, represented in the Museum's fragment, shows Herakles engaged in active struggle with the lion, which he strangles in his arms.⁷ It is this latter type that has been convincingly associated with Lysippos and his work at Alyzia.⁸ While Lysippos was not the inventor of the motif,⁹ he gave it the particular dynamic, pyramidal form that still can be recognized in the smaller-scale Roman copies. One of the best pieces of evidence that this particular type was the one created by Lysippos is its use on the statue base of Polydamas in Olympia, a securely documented work by the artist (fig. 79). Although the base is badly damaged, the lower part of the struggling group is clearly visible, and one must presume it was also designed by Lysippos, if not by his own hand.¹⁰

5. For a history of the cycle in art, see A. Furtwängler, "Herakles" in Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, II, 1, pp. 2192 ff., and F. Dürrbach, "Hercules" in Daremberg-Saglio, III, 1, pp. 78 ff. For special studies on the identification of the cycle, see particularly: G. Cultrera, "Una statua di Ercole," *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, XIV (1910) 244-256; A. Maviglia, *L'attività artistica di Lisippo ricostruita su nuova base* (Rome, 1914) 70-75, 78-84; Loeffler, *op. cit.*, and Salis, *op. cit.*

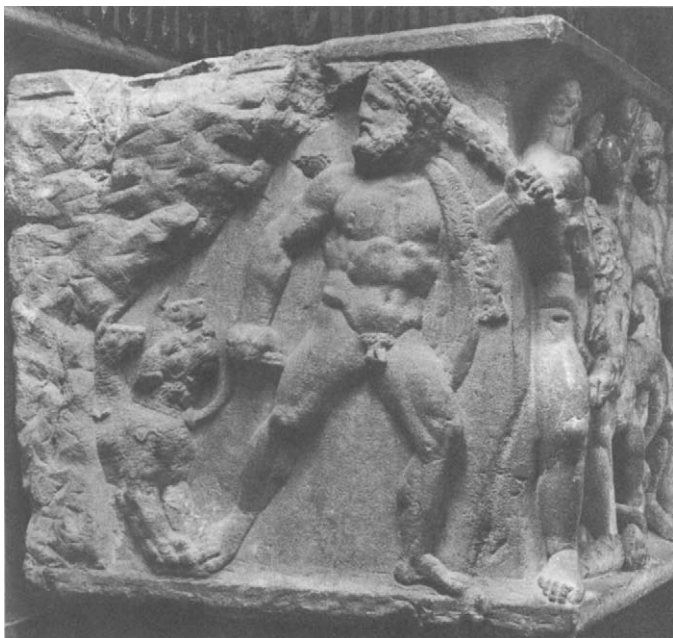
6. Robert, III, 1, nos. 101-107, pls. xxviii-xxx.

7. *Ibid.*, nos. 112-129, pls. xxi-xxxix.

8. Loeffler, *op. cit.*, 11-13, with earlier bibliography; Salis, *op. cit.*

9. For evidence of the type in the sixth century on black-figured vases, see S. Luce, "The Origin of the Shape of the 'Nolan' Amphora," *AJA*, 20 (1916) 441 ff. and Appendix 1; for a complete list of the standing Herakles with the lion type on Greek vases, see Brommer,³ 119-127.

10. Loeffler, *op. cit.*, 12, pl. vi, fig. 3; Salis, *op. cit.*, 32, fig. 19.

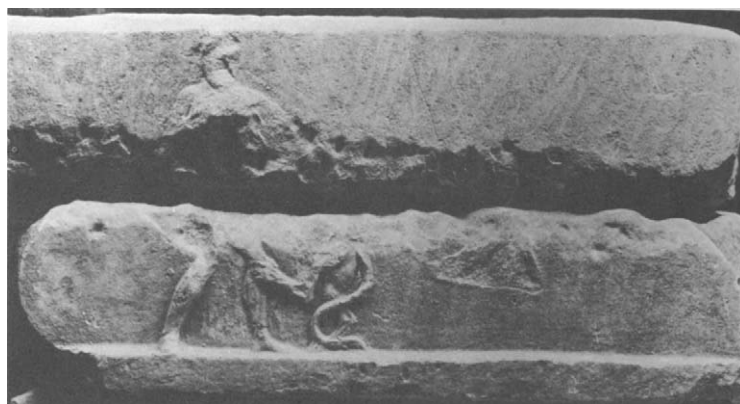


78. Left short side of the sarcophagus shown in fig. 77
Photo: German Arch. Inst. 72.149

Cat. No. 10 thus has particular significance as one of the few pieces of sculpture that can be securely connected with a lost work by this elusive master. While the group has been flattened to adjust to the limits of a two-dimensional representation, the innovating qualities of style that made Lysippos famous can still be grasped.¹¹ The figures are arranged in a composition that breaks with the previous classical concepts of frontality. The lion's lower body and Herakles' spread legs form a stable base with the head of the hero the apex. Furthermore, the original group must have been designed to be viewed from more than one angle, for the lion's head presumably was not intended to be seen from the frontal view. This concern for spatial involvement opened the door for a new era in art and would be a quality particularly appealing to the Roman sculptor. The modeling of the nude form of Herakles is firm and rounded, but one particularly senses some of the realism for which Lysippos prided himself in the exaggerated swelling of the muscles of the neck and shoulder, which conveys a

sense of the hero's superhuman strength. Herakles was a subject that Lysippos particularly favored, and, even in this diluted copy, one can understand its appeal for the artist who especially wished to portray figures in violent action. Since the Museum's fragment lacks Herakles' head, the psychological tension that was another characteristic of Lysippos' work cannot be appreciated. The Metropolitan's sarcophagus group also differs slightly from the statues in the round that have been associated most closely with Lysippos' original piece in the position of the lion's left paw.¹² Here, it grasps Herakles' upper left thigh, while in the figures in the round it usually is stretched upward to seize his right arm. This latter position is also more frequently used on other sarcophagus reliefs. As the more dynamic pose, which directs the eye upward within the triangular composition, one must suppose that it most closely copies Lysippos' original.

The other scenes that originally filled the frontal frieze of



79. Herakles and the Nemean lion, statue base of Polydamas by Lysippos
Olympia, Archaeological Museum

the Museum's sarcophagus can be identified by comparison with the other known examples of the type. The closest sarcophagus in both iconography and size is the earlier Herakles coffin in the Uffizi gallery (figs. 77, 78).¹³ The upper rim of the casket is also finished with the same slightly sloping edge, an

11. Richter, *Sculpture*, 224–231.

12. Note especially the bronze group in Zurich, Salis, *op. cit.*, figs. 1–2, and the marble statuette in the Hermitage, *ibid.*, fig. 12. Cf., however, the Hellenistic bronze statuette in the Museum's collection, acc. no. 09.221.22, Richter, *Bronzes*, 85, no. 130, with plate, here our fig. 80.

Besides the Metropolitan fragment, the other sarcophagi known to me that show a similar lower position for the lion's left paw are examples in:

Rome, Villa Borghese. Robert, III, 1, no. 112.

Florence, Uffizi. Robert, III, 1, no. 113; G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture* (Florence, 1958) II, no. 237 (Inv. 110) 225–226.

Lost. Robert, III, 1, no. 128, with paw around Herakles' waist.

Rome, Vatican. Robert, III, 1, no. 129. Loeffler, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, 1, with paw on Herakles' right thigh.

13. Mansuelli, *op. cit.*, no. 237, pp. 225–226.

early form in the evolution of rectangular sarcophagi. Moving to the right of the first preserved labor of Herakles, the following scenes would have been seen: Herakles fighting with the Lernean hydra, Herakles with the Erymanthian boar on his shoulder, Herakles struggling with the Arcadian stag, Herakles shooting the Stymphalian birds, and finally Herakles cleaning the stable of Augeas. This last deed is symbolized by the shovel held in the hero's left hand and by the river god holding the vessel from which water flows, the means used for the cleansing. There is not sufficient evidence for an association with Lysippos' Alyzian cycle for this final group or even for a specific sculptural prototype.¹⁴ On the left short side of the Uffizi sarcophagus (fig. 78) Herakles is shown leading the three-headed Cerberus out from the lower world.¹⁵ If the Museum's fragment follows the Uffizi in all details, we may thus identify the scene that decorated the left short side of the Museum's piece, where the upraised club of the striding Herakles is preserved. This particular group is not usually represented on the sarcophagi, although there is evidence of a sculptural prototype by Lysippos.¹⁶

G. Mansuelli dates the Uffizi sarcophagus in the early Antonine period.¹⁷ Our fragment appears slightly more developed in its use of the drill in deep channels in the lion's mane. The postures of the figures are also more frozen, illustrated by the straight position of Herakles' right leg. These stylistic qual-

ities suggest a slightly later date in the Antonine period for the Museum's example, perhaps between 170 and 180, after the Orestes sarcophagus in our collection [Cat. No. 7]. Another Herakles sarcophagus in the Uffizi gallery, which shows Herakles with the dead lion, is definitely later in style as seen by the elongated, mannered figures and the higher compositional form of the sarcophagus itself. Mansuelli suggests a date for it during the reign of Commodus (180–193), which seems appropriate.¹⁸

While only a small fragment of the original sarcophagus remains, the Museum's fragment showing Herakles struggling with the Nemean lion has two-fold importance. First, it is one of the few pieces of sculpture that can be securely connected with a lost masterpiece by a known Greek sculptor. Second, the adoption of the theme for Roman funerary art by an imaginative artist reveals the continuing life of that myth, which takes on a new and personal meaning for the Roman patron. It is the Roman models in turn that serve to inspire the medieval artist in his continued use of the Heracleian cycle in a Christian context.¹⁹

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Robert, III, 1, no. 114, drawing p. 137; Pinney, 242.

80. *Herakles and the Nemean lion, bronze statuette* MMA, Rogers Fund, 09.221.22



14. See Loeffler, *op. cit.*, 20.

15. Robert, III, 1, pl. xxxi, no. 113a.

16. Besides the Museum's fragment and the Uffizi sarcophagus, see examples in Rome, Palazzo Corsini, Robert, III, 1, no. 106b, pl. xxx; Rome, Palazzo Torlonia, on lid, *ibid.*, no. 116, pl. xxxii; London, British Museum, *ibid.*, no. 120, pl. xxxiii; Rome, Palazzo Torlonia, *ibid.*, no. 126, pl. xxxv.

For the sculptural prototype, see Loeffler, *op. cit.*, 22, pl. ix.

17. Mansuelli, *op. cit.*, 226.

18. *Ibid.*, no. 248, pp. 230–231.

19. See particularly K. Weitzmann, "The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedral," *ArtB*, 55 (1973) 1–37; 56 (1974) 248–252. For its earlier use in Greek Hellenistic art, see J. F. Kentfield's study of the bronze jeweler's core in the Princeton Art Museum, *Echoes from Olympus: Reflections of Divinity in Small-Scale Classical Art* (Berkeley, 1974) no. 27, suppl., pp. 21–22.



11. Fragment of a Mars and Rhea Silvia Sarcophagus

18.145.50

Late Antonine or early Severan, last quarter of the second century through first quarter of the third century.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Rogers Fund.

Greek marble with large crystals. Max. H. 2 ft. 11 in. (0.89 m.); max. W. 11 in. (0.28 m.); max. D. 3¼ in. (0.08 m.).

ONLY A fragment of the right corner of the original rectangular sarcophagus (fig. 81) is preserved. Although the surface is discolored and worn, one can still recognize the good quality of the original sarcophagus. Enough remains still to identify the figures with the story of Mars and the Vestal Virgin Rhea Silvia, known on other sarcophagi and a part of the noblest legends of the founding of Rome (fig. 82).¹ Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor, the last of the Alban kings, is visited in her sleep by Mars, the Italian god of war and agriculture. Their union brings forth the twins Romulus and Remus who, suckled by the she-wolf, will be raised by the Latin shepherd Faustulus to become the founders of Rome.²

Cat. No. 11 shows the left shoulder of a draped Venus seated on her carved throne. Behind and to her left, a female figure is shown, her nude upper body emerging from a shallow rocky ledge. Her head is missing; strands of her drilled long hair fall on her shoulders. Below her a section of the relief has been broken away above a lower rocky ledge. Perhaps originally a putto filled the missing area as in the other representations. Below the throne the shoulder and upper left arm of a female figure are preserved leaning on another rocky ledge. These fragments must belong to the sleeping Rhea Silvia. On the short side the back and right ear of a male head remain with

1. Robert, II, 2, pp. 227 ff., nos. 188–192, pls. LX–LXI. For a decorated throne used by Venus, cf. the one shown on the sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei, Rome, *ibid.*, no. 190, pl. LX, and L. Guerrini, "Sculture di Palazzo Mattei," *Studi miscellanei*, 20 (1972) 11, pl. xvii (our fig. 82).

2. Ovid, *Fasti*, III. Marbach, *RE*, XIV, 2, "Mars," 1919 ff.; Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, "Mars," II, 2, 2385 ff., 2434.

81. Fragment of a Mars and Rhea Silvia sarcophagus, Cat. No. 11



82. *Mars and Rhea Silvia sarcophagus*

Rome, Palazzo Mattei. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 29.402

the upper part of his draped right shoulder. His curly hair is dotted with single round drill holes. Maybe this figure is Faustus, who appears on the right short side of the Mars and Rhea Silvia sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei, Rome, dated by the portrait head into the Severan period.³

The use of the Latin legend in funerary art has symbolic meaning not unlike that of the Endymion myth. The soul awakes to a vision of divine love just as Rhea Silvia or Endymion awake to behold their immortal lovers. Death is thus only a sleep that will lead to a blessed awakening. Also implied may be a sacred marriage of the soul with the god in the after-world in keeping with the beliefs and practices common to the mystery cults.⁴

The style of the figures in their pictorial setting and the use of the drill indicate that the fragment cannot be earlier than the late Antonine period of the last quarter of the second century. The union of figures in a landscape, with the use of rocky ledges from which half figures emerge, may be compared with the sarcophagus illustrating the Judgment of Paris in the Villa Medici in Rome (fig. 45) dated on stylistic grounds in this period.⁵

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Alexander, 44, fig. 14.

3. Robert, II, 2, p. 232, fig. 188b. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, p. 19, ch. III, n. 49, dates both of the sarcophagi of Mars and Rhea Silvia in the Palazzo Mattei between 200 and 220. This would be in keeping with the stylistic evidence of the Museum's fragment, which shows slightly earlier stylistic features.

4. E. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life* (London, 1915) 202–203. For the concept of death as a sleep, see M. B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death," *MAAR*, 11 (1933) 81 ff.

5. See above, p. 44, n. 11.

B. Andreae suggests a date in the late Severan period for the Museum's fragment and would compare it with the Dionysiac *lenos* fragment in the Vatican magazine, Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 1, no. 41, pls. 40–42. The Museum's piece is so fragmentary that I do not feel one can draw precise conclusions, but it appears earlier in its style to me.

12. Fragment of a Nereid Sarcophagus (?)

16.174.49

Severan, 200–235.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Rogers Fund.

Greek, gray-tinged marble with large crystals. Max. H. 12½ in. (0.32 m.); max. W. 7½ in. (0.19 m.).

ONLY THE head and upper back remain of a naked female figure (fig. 83). Both her arms are missing, and the piece is broken off at the waist. A fold of drapery falls over her left shoulder, the end of which is damaged, but traces on the surface of the marble indicate that it originally continued down the left side of her back. Whether this piece of drapery belongs to the figure or to a missing one on her left cannot be decided from the fragmentary remains. The figure is viewed

83. *Nereid(?)*, fragment of a sarcophagus, Cat. No. 12



from the back with her head turned upward and to her right. Part of a rounded form is visible in lower relief behind her right shoulder. Her long hair is tied up behind her head with two loose bunches of curls falling down her back. The drill is used in short, deep drill holes to accent the curls around the face, while the upper hair is carved with a chisel and parted down the center. The drill is also used in the pupils and corners of the eyes, nostrils, and mouth. The surface is incrustated, and the right side of the face is worn.

C. Alexander originally identified the fragment as an Amazon and related it to the Amazonomachy illustrated on the famous Achilles and Penthesilea sarcophagus in the Vatican.¹ In the center of the Vatican relief, Achilles (fig. 84) is shown

1. Alexander, 42, fig. 6. For the Vatican Achilles and Penthesilea sarcophagus see Helbig,⁴ I, no. 244 (Andreae) with earlier bibliography (our fig. 84). This monument represents the final stage in the compositional development of the theme, which has a long history in both Greek and Roman art. For this development see Klügmann, in Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, III, 1922 ff.; Paribeni in *EAA*, VI (1965) 28 ff.; Bothmer, 4 ff., 72, 145 ff.; M. R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* (London, 1963) 96 ff. For representations on Greek vases, see Brommer,³ 353–354. For representations on Roman sarcophagi, see Robert, II, pp. 76 ff., nos. 69–137; Redlich.

For the use of the motif in the Renaissance, compare Michelangelo's Deposition, Duomo, Florence, J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London, 1970) fig. 35, pp. 338 ff. The pose of Michelangelo's statuary group seems to me to derive from the Achilles and Penthesilea Roman sarcophagi rather than from an Etruscan urn from Volterra once in Michelangelo's house cited by D. Levi, "La tomba della Pellegrina a Chiusi," *Revista del reale istituto d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, 4 (1932–1933) 51, pl. IIb.

On the earlier sarcophagi of the second century the actual death of Penthesilea, who comes to aid Troy after the death of Hector, is used as the central motif. See Redlich, pl. 4, sarcophagi in Mazzara and Salonica, and pp. 56 ff. The Vatican sarcophagus shows the later portrayal of Achilles as the tragic hero after the deed, holding the limp body of Penthesilea. This version of the myth does not develop on sarcophagi until the end of the second century and is the form continued in the third, often with portraits added (*ibid.*, 72 ff.). The pose of Achilles and the dying Amazon queen is derived from the famous Hellenistic statuary group of Menelaos with the body of Patroklos, a statuary type that also occurs in Pompeian painting. See B. Schweitzer, "Die Menelaos-Patroklos-Gruppe," *Die Antike*, 14 (1938) 43–72; Havelock, no. 139. Cf. Curtius, pl. II, Achilles with the Daughters of Lycomedes, Pompeii, Reg. IX, ins. 5,2. In later Roman times, the group also occurs, for example, in the famous bronze plaques decorating the "Tensa Capitolina" (see above, p. 69, notes 12, 13, 14). The interest in these later Achilles-Penthesilea sarcophagi, of which the Vatican example is the largest and best preserved, is now on the suffering hero who realizes his love too late. The change in focus away from the battle to the psychological aspects of the myth is in keeping with the developments in Roman art of the third century.



84. *Achilles and Penthesilea sarcophagus*

Rome, Vatican, inv. 933. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 8330

with the dying Amazon queen whom he kills and later mourns. Directly behind Achilles is a figure of a mounted Amazon, seen from behind with her chiton draped across her back and left shoulder. The facial type, hair style, and position of the figure do closely correspond to the Museum's piece. Crucial to the identification of an Amazon, however, is the presence of the typical chiton, which should cut across the Amazon's back from one shoulder. In the Museum's fragment, if the drapery does actually belong to the figure, it falls down the left side rather than across the upper back, arguing against an identification with an Amazon.

B. Andreae has suggested that the figure may be a maenad

and thus may have belonged to a Dionysiac sarcophagus.² While this identification is possible, the combination of the curving body position, which suggests a seated figure, and the hair style do not exactly correspond with any of the maenad types offered by Matz. Because of the twisted back view of the Museum's figure, D. von Bothmer's suggestion that it is a Nereid is the more tempting. These sea nymphs, daughters of Nereus and Doris who carry the weapons to Achilles, have a long history in Greek art.³ Seated on Tritons, dolphins, and other sea creatures (fig. 85), frequently with their backs turned to the viewer, they form one of the major motifs for sarcophagi decoration.⁴ In a Roman funerary context the Nereids also

2. Compare Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 1, no. 68, pl. 68, a Dionysiac *lenos* sarcophagus in Pisa, and pp. 27 ff., particularly no. 52, p. 35, for maenad types. I am grateful to B. Andreae for these references.

3. See Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, III, 1, cols. 207 ff. (Weizsäcker).

4. See particularly Dressler in Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, V, cols. 1193 ff., and the basic study by A. Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, V, 1 (Berlin, 1939). Cf. the Museum's figure, particularly the Nereids in back view, seated on Tritons on the sarcophagus in the Louvre, *ibid.*, pl. 40, no. 132, dated by Rumpf in the middle third of the second century; sar-

cophagus in the Vatican, *ibid.*, pl. 40, no. 116, dated in the first half of the third century; sarcophagus in the Galleria Corsini, *ibid.*, pl. 45, no. 123, dated in the middle third of the second century (our fig. 85); sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo (Inv. 2269), *ibid.*, no. 147, pls. 49–50. Rumpf and Andreae in Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1684, place this last sarcophagus in the fourth century on the basis of its style. For a date in the second century, see E. Boehringer, "Archäologische Funde von Anfang 1928 bis Mitte 1929," *AA*, 44 (1929) 95; "News Items from Rome," *AJA*, 34 (1930) 381. I would suggest a date late in the second century.



85. *Nereid sarcophagus*
Rome, Galleria Corsini. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 32.331



86. *Detail of barbarian captives from battle sarcophagus, Portonaccio*
Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 112327. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 36.272

take on a new symbolic meaning beyond their mythological one.⁵ The concept of death as a journey over the sea to the Isles of the Blessed appears to have originated in the Italic world. On Roman sarcophagi, the dead man frequently appears in the *Sea-thiasos*, a procession of sea creatures, his portrait bust held up by Tritons as a centering motif.⁶ An allusion to the journey of the soul to the other world is intended by the theme. Furthermore, the concept of the purification of the soul by passing through the elements is a Roman philosophical idea and may also be implied here.⁷ To be sure, Nereids and Tritons are used freely in Roman art for their decorative function, but their popular use on Roman sarcophagi must be linked to the eschatological implications of the fanciful *Sea-thiasos*, which surely derived from a Dionysiac heritage.⁸ In conclusion, because of the frequency of Nereids shown from the back view seated on Tritons on the sea sarcophagi, I am inclined to identify the Museum's figure with one of these kindly companions of the dead. However, one must admit that our head is a female type that may be related also to representations of Amazons and maenads. Without the rest of the figure, a secure identification is lacking.

One may be more secure in dating Cat. No. 12 on the basis of its style and the extent of the drill work. The series of Ama-

zon sarcophagi closely dated by Redlich in his basic study are useful for comparison. In contrast to the Vatican Amazon sarcophagus, which may be dated approximately by the hair style of the female portrait to the late Severan period, about 230 to 240,⁹ the Museum's fragment shows less drill work in the hair. Also a firmer feeling for organic form is apparent even in the fragmentary figure through the rendering of the spinal curve and rounded shoulder. The Museum's piece thus appears to be slightly earlier in date, before the end of the Severan period. In Redlich's study, the Museum's fragment is closest in style to the older sarcophagi within his fifth group, which he dates in the first half of the third century.¹⁰ The Vatican sarcophagus, which provides the most monumental and "classic" composition in the series, evolves from these earlier designs.

Through the expression conveyed by the upward glance and parted lips and the sensitive modeling of the torso, the Museum's piece reveals its high quality. One must remain tantalized by imagining the scene to which the small fragment originally belonged.

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Pinney, 244; Alexander, 42, fig. 6.

5. Cumont, 166 ff.; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947) I, 100 ff.; Nock, 167; *idem*, "Nymphs and Nereids," *MélUSJ*, 37 (1961) 297 ff.; Rumpf, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.

6. For example, Rumpf, *op. cit.*, pl. 24. According to G. Hanfmann, portraits in shells or medallions on Nereid sarcophagi are first introduced in 210–220 (Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 25).

7. Cumont, 132 ff.

8. Levi, *Antioch*, 101.

9. Compare the portraits of Julia Mamaea, mother of Alexander Severus (222–235); Meischner, 105 ff.; Wiggers, pls. 57–64, pp. 200 ff.

10. Redlich, 79 ff.; pl. 5, no. 89, sarcophagus in the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome. For drill work and expression compare also the barbarian heads from the Portonaccio battle sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, Rome (fig. 86), dated by both G. Hanfmann and B. Andreae between 190 and 200. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, pl. 121; Andreae in Helbig,⁴ III, no. 2126, with further bibliography.

13. Fragments of an Apollo and Marsyas Sarcophagus

15.170; 27.122.19a,b

Late Severan, 210–230.

All fragments were purchased by John Marshall in Rome, the section with the knife-sharpener in 1915 (Rogers Fund) and the Marsyas group in 1927 (Fletcher Fund).

The two groups were found to join in 1930. Greek translucent marble with gray veining and large crystals. Max. H. 2 ft. (0.61 m.); max. W. 1 ft. 9 in. (0.53 m.); max. D. 1 ft. 3 in. (0.38 m.); max. D. of relief at top 5 in. (0.13 m.); max. D. at bottom 3¾ in. (0.10 m.).

ELEVEN joining fragments form the right, rounded end of a sarcophagus of the *lenos* type (figs. 87–89), which, when complete, illustrated the myth of the contest between the Phrygian satyr Marsyas and the god Apollo. A portion of the upper edge of the trough is preserved with parts of four figures from the right-hand scene of the punishment of Marsyas. The satyr is shown hanging from a pine tree¹ while a bearded Phrygian slave, nude except for the goatskin slung over his left shoulder, kneels at his feet and sharpens his knife upon a stone in preparation for the flaying. Another slave wearing a Phrygian cap, a short chiton, and a long-sleeved undergarment appears on the curved side to Marsyas' right (fig. 87), holding the rope that ties his hands and binds him to the tree. Behind the knife-sharpener, in front of a fragment of drapery, there is a sleeved arm with a hand which grasps a naked knee. Perhaps these joining pieces are part of a group showing Marsyas' pupil, Olympus, who appears on some of the other sarcophagi, weeping or imploring Apollo to spare his friend. In front of the Phrygian, a portion of the satyr's goatskin with the animal's head is seen. On the rock upon which the slave sharpens his knife the toes of the right foot and the first three toes of the left foot of Marsyas are preserved. Missing from the group are: the lower right arm and foot of the knife-sharpener as

well as his left knee, the torso of Marsyas from above the waist and his right arm, and both lower legs from the knees down of the slave on the short side. This latter figure has been broken and rejoined. The break runs from the top of the upper edge of the trough through the right shoulder and left leg. A portion of his face has also been broken off and reattached. The flat, upper surface of the trough has been roughly worked with a pick, probably in modern times. The head and body of the knife-sharpener are more worn and discolored than the head and torso of Marsyas, which still preserves some of the ancient high surface polish. This suggests that the two fragments were separated a long time ago. The surface of the whole shows some incrustation, but the fine modeling of the torso of Marsyas indicates the skill of the original sculptor.

The myth of Apollo and Marsyas was an extremely popular one in ancient art and is also known from a number of literary sources.² Apollodorus, for one, in the second century B.C. may be quoted for the full story (*The Library*, I, 4, 2):³

Apollo also slew Marsyas, the son of Olympus. For Marsyas, having found the pipes which Athena had thrown away because they disfigured her face, engaged in a musical contest with Apollo. They agreed that the victor should work his will on the vanquished, and when the trial took place Apollo turned his lyre upside down in the competition and bade Marsyas do the same. But Marsyas could not, so Apollo was judged the victor and despatched Marsyas by hanging him on a tall pine tree and stripping off his skin.

The most famous representation of the myth and one of the earliest is Myron's statuary group of Athena and Marsyas, which stood on the Athenian Acropolis and dates shortly before the mid-fifth century B.C.⁴ The contest between Marsyas and Apollo was frequently used as a subject on Greek vases as well as in the other decorative arts from the second half of the fifth century onward.⁵ It also appears on Italic soil on Etruscan

1. In literature, Apollodorus, I, 4, 2, for a pine tree. For a plane tree, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 240, 89. I thank D. von Bothmer for these further references. The tree on the sarcophagus, however, clearly has pinecones.

2. J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig, 1889) 420 ff.; Jessen in Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, II, 2439 ff.; "Marsia," *EAA*, IV, 876 ff. (E. Paribeni); K. W. Schauenburg, "Marsyas," *RM*, 65 (1958) 44–46 for latest bibliography. For the treatment of Marsyas and Apollo in

Greek vase painting, see H. Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* (Würzburg, 1971) 29–44. I owe this last reference to D. von Bothmer.

3. Trans. by J. G. Frazer (London, 1921).

4. Richter, *Sculpture*, 162, figs. 621–631.

5. J. D. Beazley, "Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia. III. The Red-Figured Vases," *JHS*, 59 (1939) 35–44, pls. II–IV; *idem*, *Etruscan Vase Painting* (Oxford, 1947) 73 ff.; H. Metzger, *Les Représentations dans la céra-*



87. *Fragments of an Apollo and Marsyas sarcophagus, Cat. No. 13, showing right curved side with the slave with a rope*

88. *Marsyas, detail of Cat. No. 13*

89. *Frontal view of Cat. No. 13*



mirrors, urns, and Pompeiian paintings, as well as on later mosaics and sarcophagi.⁶ Because of the variety in the representations of the subject, Boardman suggested that the original

mique attique du IV^e siècle (Paris, 1951) 158 ff.; J. Boardman, "Some Attic Fragments: Pot, Plaque and Dithyramb," *JHS*, 76 (1956) 18 ff.; C. W. Clairmont, "Greek Mythology and Vase-Painting," *Yale Classical Studies*, 15 (1957) 161 ff., with further bibliography and a discussion of the various compositional types.

For an example of the use of the myth in Greek art in the Museum's collection, see the cover of a Greek bronze mirror of the fourth century, acc. no. 14.130.4a,b; G. M. A. Richter, "Department of Classical Art. Accessions of 1914," *BMAA*, 10 (1915) 209 ff.; W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (Berlin, 1942) 89 ff., KS 150, p. 190, fig. 104.

6. See particularly bibliography cited above, n. 2, Paribeni, *op. cit.*

For an example of its use in Etruscan art in the Metropolitan's collection, see a bronze candelabrum from the Walter C. Baker collection, acc. no. 1972.118.87. D. von Bothmer, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities from the Collection of Walter Cummings Baker, Esq.* (New York, 1950) no. 39.



source may actually be a literary one rather than a lost major work of art,⁷ citing the lost “Marsyas” of the dithyramb writer Melanippides, whom he dates around the middle of the fifth century. The representation of the sequel to the contest, the punishment of Marsyas, while known to Herodotus (VII, 26), does not appear to have been illustrated in art before the fourth century B.C. It was the subject of a painting of this time by Zeuxis which was later taken to Rome (Pliny, *Natural History*, 35, 66). The flaying group represented on the Museum’s fragment was copied directly from a famous Pergamene statuary group created in the third century B.C., known in a number of Roman copies in the round, on coins and gems (figs. 90, 91).⁸

On Roman sarcophagi the subject appears early in their development, and continues in frequent use through the first half of the third century.⁹ The designers of the sarcophagi

usually divided the myth into its three parts, although they varied the sequence and compositional design. This abstract and symbolic approach to relief design reminds us that the sarcophagi are important documents of the wider development going on in Roman narrative art, which moves away, especially in the course of the third century, from a classical unity of time and space toward a new spatial symbolism.¹⁰ The sarcophagi designs reveal, where lost Roman painting cannot, the gradual steps in this evolving principle, which is basic for medieval representations to follow. In the Apollo and Marsyas sarcophagi, the successive scenes represented in one unified composition include those of Athena with the flutes who looks at her reflection in the well, the contest between Apollo and Marsyas which usually forms the central group with various gods and/or Muses judging, and finally the punishment of Marsyas. The Museum’s piece preserves only the

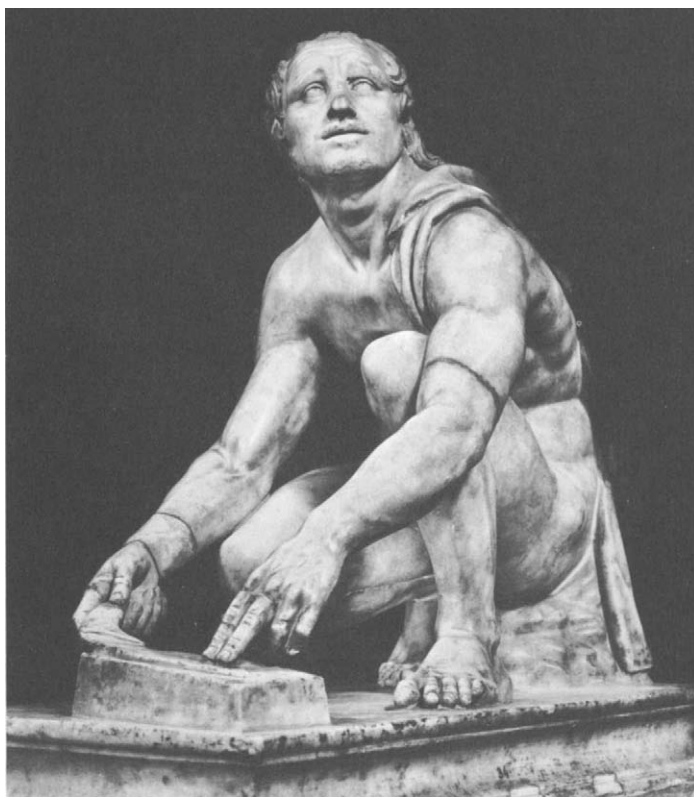
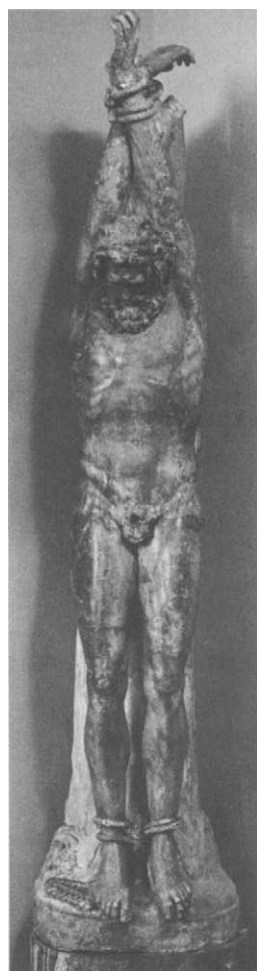
7. Boardman, *op. cit.*, 19.

8. For sculpture see Bieber, 110–111; Charbonneaux, 262–264, figs. 283–284. For coins see Alexander, 43, fig. 13 (Antoninus Pius). For gems see G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (London, 1971) nos. 251–255, 727, 728a.

9. Robert, III, 2, nos. 196–215; G. Mancini, “II. Roma. Nuove scoperte di antichità in città e nel suburbio,” *NSc* (1913) 117 ff.; G. Carettoni, “Di un nuovo sarcofago con il mito d’Apollo e Marsia,” *BullComm*,

65 (1937) 61–71, pl. I, sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Braccio Nuovo.

10. For illustrations in Roman historical relief of this concept, see K. Lehmann-Hartleben, “Space and Time in Some Late Roman Works of Art,” *AJA*, 41 (1937) 115; E. Olsen, “The Stylistic Significance of the Reliefs on the Roman Arch of Septimius Severus,” *AJA*, 44 (1940) 114–115; Brilliant, 41 ff.; also cf. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, “Two Roman Silver Jugs,” *AJA*, 42 (1938) 82 ff., pls. xiii–xv.



90.

Statue of Marsyas

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Photo: German Arch. Inst. 74.2741

91.

Statue of the knife-sharpener, flaying of Marsyas group

Florence, Uffizi. Photo:

Anderson 9327



92. *Apollo and Marsyas sarcophagus*

Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili. Photo: German Arch. Inst.
71.1489

last scene, but the full composition may be described by comparing a complete *lenos* sarcophagus in the Galleria Doria Pamphili dated by H. Sichtermann and G. Koch about 230 on the basis of its style (figs. 92–94).¹¹ While details vary, it is likely that ours was the same type, although slightly earlier in date. The design of the sarcophagus in the Galleria Doria Pamphili begins on the left curved side (unillustrated here) with the first episode in the myth: Athena holding her flutes, with a reclining river nymph at her feet symbolizing the well in which she sees her reflection. To her left is an unbearded youth wearing only a chlamys over his left shoulder. Robert suggested an identification with Olympus, the young pupil of Marsyas, but this seems unlikely since he usually wears the Phrygian cap and dress in other representations.¹² Also Olympus is the most likely identification, in this writer's opinion, for the figure grasping Marsyas' knee on the right end of the sarcophagus. Perhaps this capless youth on the left end is a local mountain deity who appears in other illustrations of the story on the sarcophagi.¹³ Beginning the frontal scene at the left, the Muse of tragedy, Melpomene, holding a mask of Herakles in her right hand and a club in her left, is represented. Behind her in lower relief is a satyr. The Phrygian mother goddess, Cybele, with her mural crown follows, seated on her throne accompanied by her familiar lion. She holds a tym-

panum in one hand and a branch in the other. At her feet is the young Phrygian shepherd Attis, beloved by the goddess. Behind her, the young god Dionysus stands in the familiar Greek statuary pose of Apollo Citharoedus, with his right arm over her head.¹⁴ To his right, Athena turns toward the seated Cybele. She wears her helmet and aegis and leans upon her spear. All four figures in this group have associations with the Phrygian satyr and flank the central scene in which he stands playing his flute in competition with Apollo, with the head of a Muse in the background. Apollo sits upon a rock, nude to the waist, holding his kithara and plectrum. The poses of the two contestants also derive from Greek statuary; for example, compare the central figures of Athena and Poseidon on the west pediment of the Parthenon.¹⁵ Apollo is joined at his left

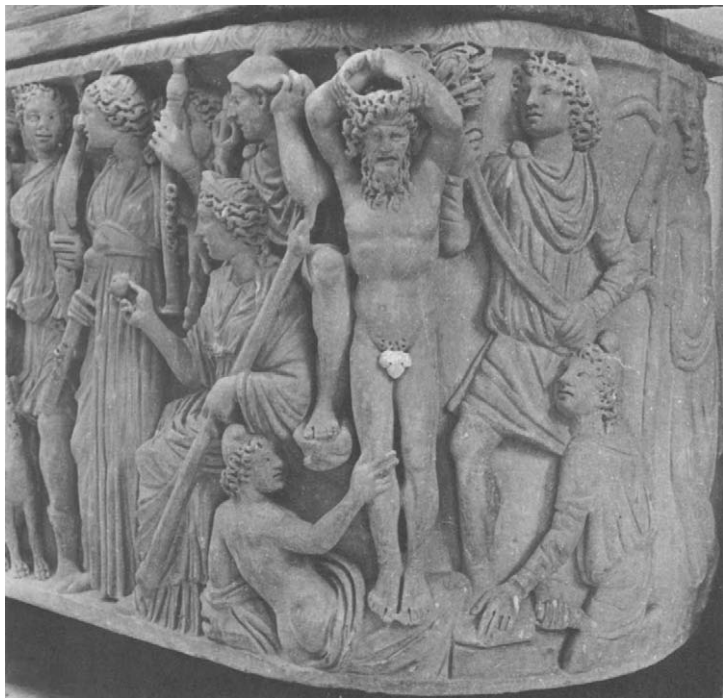
11. Robert, III, 2, no. 207; Borda, 39; Sichtermann—Koch, 40 ff., no. 36, pl. 82.2, pls. 86–89, with further bibliography.

12. Cf. the sarcophagus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, Robert, III, 2, no. 208; Poulsen, no. 782.

13. Cf. Robert, III, 2, p. 198, sarcophagus in the Louvre; J. Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture grecque et romaine au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1963) no. 2347, p. 227.

14. Bieber, figs. 678–681.

15. Richter, *Sculpture*, fig. 421; Clairmont, *op. cit.*, 176, n. 38. Cf. R. Carpenter, "Observations on Familiar Statuary in Rome. The Belvedere Torso," *MAAR*, 18 (1941) 84 ff.



93. Curved right end of the sarcophagus shown in fig. 92

Photo: German Arch. Inst. 57.1170

by his sister Artemis, whose pose is also a familiar one from Greek art, illustrated, for example, by the statue of the fleeing Niobid from the famous early Hellenistic group of Niobe and her children.¹⁶ To Artemis' right, the Muse Euterpe is identified by her flute. In the background, two other Muses with feathers in their hair are seen on either side of Euterpe. As Cybele frames the central composition on the left, so does the seated goddess Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis, on the right. Behind her with one leg raised up on a rock, Mercury is seen holding his caduceus. At the right corner and continuing around the curved end is the scene of the punishment of Marsyas. In contrast to the Museum's fragment, the sarcophagus in the Galleria Doria Pamphili (fig. 93) shows the knife-sharpener at the right on the curved side. To the left of Marsyas is carved a reclining, half-draped youth wearing a Phrygian cap with his back turned to the viewer. He grasps the satyr's knee and his gesture as well as his cap argue for an identification with the devoted Olympus, already discussed. Robert identified the figure as a river god, for the myth relates that from the blood of the satyr the river Marsyas will spring

16. Bieber, 74 ff., fig. 264, statue in the Uffizi Gallery. From the same Niobid group also cf. the fleeing son in the Uffizi, *ibid.*, fig. 259, for the figure of Apollo.

forth. However, the last figure on the curved right end, who holds a water reed, can serve for this identification. A fragment of his foot may be preserved at the far right edge of the Museum's fragment.

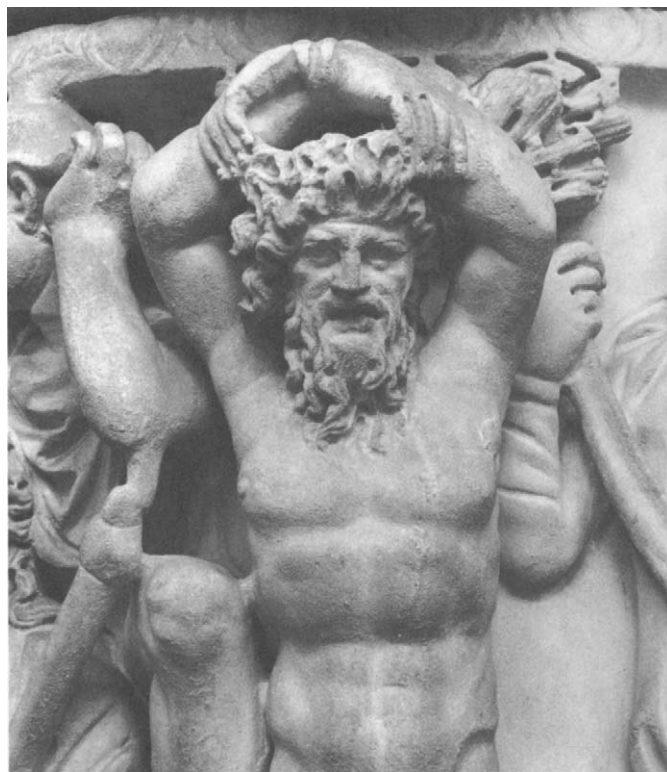
From the above description, it is clear that the designer of the sarcophagus drew upon a number of established Greek statuary types, which were part of the common repertoire of forms available to the Roman artists. For his particular grouping of figures, however, one looks in vain for a source in Greek art or even in Pompeian painting.¹⁷ The particular stress given to the central scene of four figures with framing seated figures at the oblong ends seems especially suited to the form of the sarcophagus panel. Furthermore, in this case, the composition seems to be influenced by another sarcophagus type. In the Muse sarcophagi,¹⁸ Apollo is often seated in the center in the same pose with the Muses giving calm, vertical accents on either side, as in the Apollo and Marsyas group just

17. P. Hermann, *Denkmäler der Malerei* (Munich, 1934–1950) ser. 2, pls. 224 ff. for Marsyas scenes; C. Dawson, *Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting* (Rome, 1965) no. 23, p. 90, pl. VIII, and pp. 154–155, 176.

18. For example, cf. the sarcophagus of Apollo and the Muses in Agliè, Wegner, no. 2, pl. 35, dated in the second quarter of the third cen-

94. Marsyas, detail of fig. 93

Photo: German Arch. Inst. 71.1493



described. It is significant to note the influence of this design in the minor arts, as, for example, its use on a Roman pilgrim flask in St. Germain-en-Laye.¹⁹

What is particularly intriguing about the Apollo and Marsyas sarcophagus type is: why was this cruel myth used so frequently in Roman funerary art? Cumont has interpreted the myth symbolically in the light of Neo-Pythagorean philosophy, an interpretation that has been largely followed.²⁰ In keeping with the dualism of the body and spirit stressed in that doctrine, the victory of the lyre of Apollo may be seen as the victory of the soul that has listened to heavenly music and resisted the music of the satyr's flute, which symbolizes our impure passions. In this light, the punishment of Marsyas represents the destruction of man's baser nature by divine power. The fact that Marsyas' skin was exhibited at Celaenae may also reflect a ritual practice of flaying the dead as a means of effecting resurrection.²¹ This interpretation of the myth in funerary art in the light of Neo-Pythagorean philosophy gains force from the evidence of its use in the stucco decoration of the basilica under the Porta Maggiore in Rome, considered to have belonged to a Pythagorean sect.²² The story of Olympus is also used in the paintings described by Philostratus, which Karl Lehmann believed reflected a lost programmatic painting cycle of the late second or early third century, also probably inspired by Neo-Pythagorean philosophy.²³ Perhaps the designers of the sarcophagi were inspired by just such a lost ideological painting cycle.²⁴ Whether the deceased was a believer in this philosophy cannot be proved, and one must always remember that the meaning of a symbol may be lost when it is mass-produced. But in the context of the early third-century

climate of philosophical and mystical speculation among the intellectual class, who were the commissioners of these luxury sarcophagi, it seems highly likely that the choice of the subject was here intentional for this piece of high quality. Through the theme, the deceased might hope to rise himself to the heavenly spheres where only harmonious music will be heard. The figure of Marsyas, in turn, could serve to illustrate to his descendents the fate that awaited the uninitiated who might dare to challenge the authority of the god. This symbolic use of an old Greek myth directs us toward the theological function of art in the service of the Church.

The Museum's sarcophagus fragment may be compared in style with the great Badminton sarcophagus [Cat. No. 17], which dates in the second quarter of the third century. Both show especially deeply cut relief of approximately the same depth of five inches at the top, tapering toward the base. The polished forms and extensive use of the drill may also be compared, as, for example, the head of Ocean (fig. 120) on the right short side of the Badminton sarcophagus and the head of the suffering Marsyas. In both, the drill is used in deep channels throughout the beard and hair, and the pupils are drilled and outlined. The increased modeling of the surface of the satyr's face, however, combined with the rendering of realistic details, such as the hair in his armpits, suggests a slightly earlier date for the Apollo and Marsyas sarcophagus, or at least an artist working in a less classicizing style.²⁵

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Pinney, 242; Alexander, 42-44, figs. 11-13.

ture. For discussion of the relationship of the Muse sarcophagi and the Apollo and Marsyas types, see *ibid.*, 113 ff.

For Apollo's assimilation with Orpheus and Mithras, see H. P. L'Orange, "Apollon-Mithras," *JOAI*, 39 (1952) 75 ff., where a Muse sarcophagus (in the cloister of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome), which has a scene of the punishment of Marsyas on its right short side, is discussed.

Cf. also Cat. No. 5.

19. W. Froehner, *Les Musées de France* (Paris, 1873) pl. 3.

20. Cumont, 18 ff., 303 ff. Cf. Nock, 151; J. Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire* (Ithaca, 1970) 142.

21. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* (London, 1907) 246.

22. E. Strong and N. Jolliffe, "The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore," *JHS*, 44 (1924) 90-91. For further bibliography, see E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1961) I, 169-173.

23. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "The 'Imagines' of the Elder Philostratus,"

ArtB, 23 (1941) 16 ff. and especially the room of Dionysus, 33 ff.

24. For recent evidence of such a cycle, cf. the mosaic of Marsyas from the imperial villa at Baccano, G. Becatti *et al.*, *Mosaici antichi in Italia. Regione settima. Baccano: villa romana* (Rome, 1970) 30 ff., no. 12, pl. XII. Here both the slave binding Marsyas to the tree and Olympos are shown as on our sarcophagus. I am grateful to Dr. E. Fabbicotti for this reference.

25. B. Andreae would date the Museum's fragment between 250 and 260 (letter to D. von Bothmer, Nov. 27, 1975) and believes it is from the same workshop as the Balbinus sarcophagus and the Frankfurt Meleager sarcophagus. See B. Andreae, G. Oehlschlegel, and K. Weber, "Zusammenfügung der Fragmente eines Meleager-sarkophags in Frankfurt und Kassel," *JdI*, 87 (1972) 388 ff.

In my opinion the Museum's fragment is not so late in style, although I agree with Andreae that it is slightly earlier than the Badminton sarcophagus, which I place between 220 and 235. Compare Andreae's dating of the Badminton sarcophagus below, pp. 103 ff.

14. Fragment of a Sarcophagus Lid, Eros Mounted on a Horse

26.60.86

Severan, first half of the third century.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Fletcher Fund.

Greek marble. Max. H. $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. (0.12 m.); max. W. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.18 m.).



95. *Eros mounted on a horse, fragment of a sarcophagus,*
Cat. No. 14

ONLY ONE figure remains (fig. 95) from an Erotes frieze decorating the lid of a sarcophagus of the Western type. Eros is shown mounted on a horse, riding to the right. A fragment of a palm branch (?) held by the preceding rider and a portion of the animal's hoof are also visible. A section of the upper, concave rim of the lid is preserved. Missing are the right foot and part of the leg of Eros as well as the head, legs, and tail of the horse. The right forearm of Eros is chipped. The surface is polished, with some incrustation visible. The carving is cursory.

A frieze of Erotes mounted on animals either hunting or racing is a popular theme for the decoration of sarcophagi lids in both the East and West.¹ An example of a frieze of amorini hunting wild animals can be seen in the Metropolitan's collection on the Proconnesian marble sarcophagus (fig. 23).² A fine example of racing amorini can also be observed in the Western garland sarcophagus in the Metropolitan's collection (figs. 11, 20).³ The presence of the palm branch suggests that our fragment originally derived from a lid showing Erotes fighting with wild animals, in which the victor carries away the winning palm, an example of which is the frieze on the well-known garland sarcophagus in the Lateran of the second century (fig. 13).⁴ The carving of our fragment, however, is later, indicated by the puffy, inorganic rendering of the cheeks of Eros and the lack of structural feeling in the movement of his small body. A date in the Severan period is appropriate.

The theme of Erotes fighting wild beasts is a common one on monuments from Asia Minor, and our fragment reflects again the cross-influences active in the sarcophagi workshops of the third century.

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Alexander, 44, no. 7, fig. 9.

1. See Morey, pl. 67, pp. 40 ff., sarcophagus from Sidamara in Istanbul (our fig. 167). For an example of a Western sarcophagus, see the garland sarcophagus in the Lateran, Helbig,⁴ I, no. 1128 (Inv. 10443), Andrae (our fig. 13). For discussion of the date of the Lateran garland sarcophagus, see above, p. 60, n. 34. For further bibliography, see discussion of the Pamphylian sarcophagus in Rhode Island by Ridgway, no. 38, pp. 96 ff.; J. D. Young, "A Sarcophagus at Providence," *ArtB*, 13 (1931) 152.
2. See above, Cat. No. 2, pp. 30 ff.
3. See above, Cat. No. 1, pp. 25 ff. For racing amorini as symbols of the soul's struggles on earth or its pleasures in the hereafter, see Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 214.
4. See above, p. 60, n. 34.



15. Fragment of an Indian Triumph of Dionysus Sarcophagus

28.57.3

Early Severan, first quarter of the third century.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Fletcher Fund.

Phrygian marble. Max. H. 7 in. (0.18 m.); max. W. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.25 m.); max. D. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0.19 m.); max. D. of relief 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0.09 m.).

THE FRAGMENT with two preserved heads (fig. 96), both broken off at the neck, belongs to the upper right corner of the frontal relief of a rectangular sarcophagus. A section of the concave molding is also preserved with a small portion of the

96. Fragment of an Indian Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus, Cat. No. 15

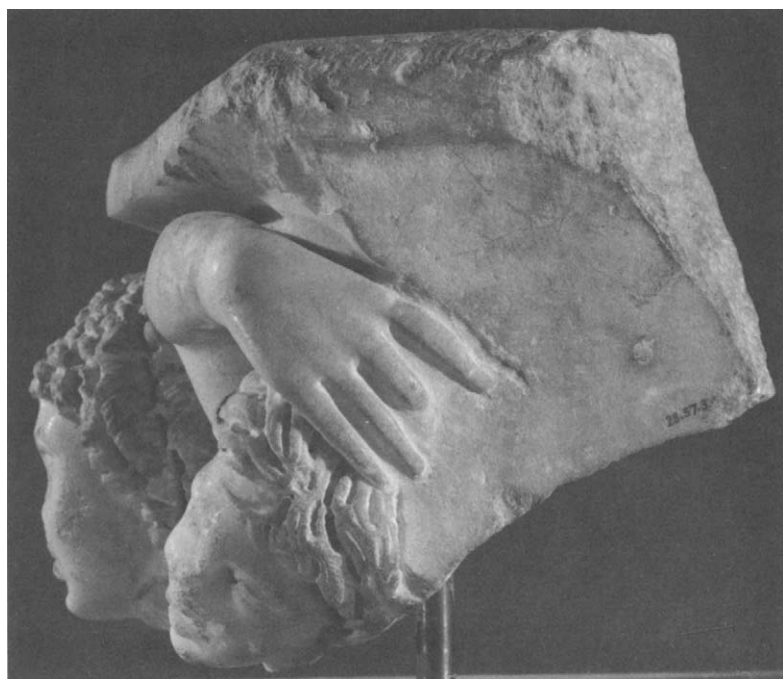
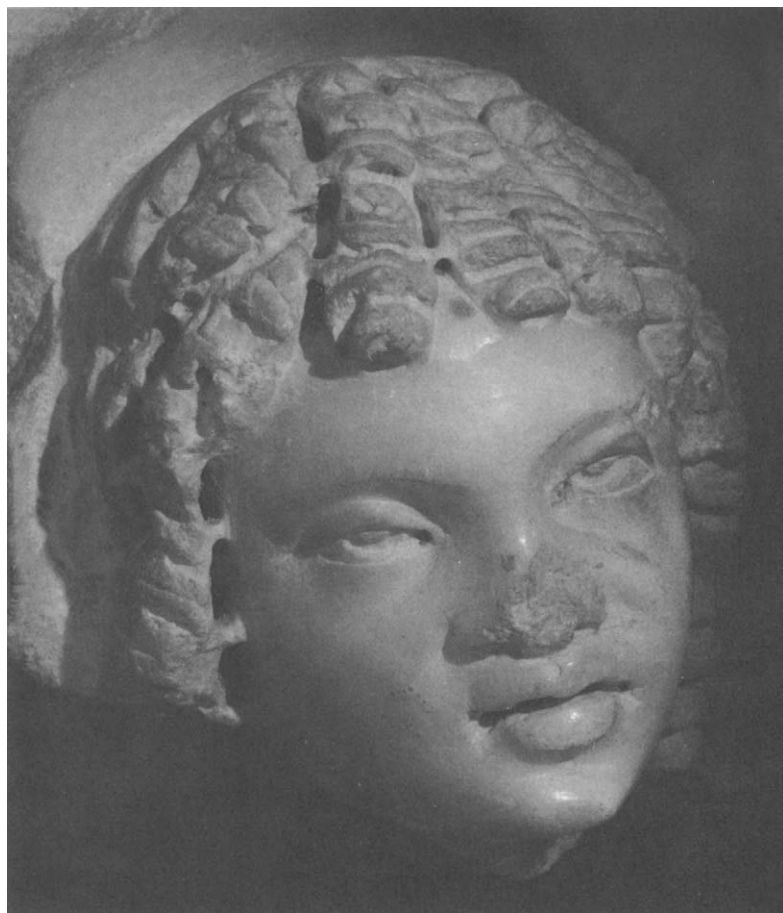
right short side. The upper flat surface of the rim has been left roughly worked. The head on the left (fig. 97) is that of a young Negro or Ethiopian boy of mixed black-white descent, identified by his characteristic corkscrew curls, thick lips, and broad nose.¹ He turns toward his right, his head bent slightly downward. The end of his nose is broken off, and his left eyebrow is chipped. There is some incrustation on the cheeks, but

1. I am grateful to Dr. Frank M. Snowden for his confirmation of this identification. For the association of this racial type with the Triumph of Bacchus, see particularly his book, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 145–146, 149–150. For further comparative material see *idem*, “Iconographical Evidence on the Black Populations in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,” *Image of the Black in Western Art, I: From the Pharaohs to the Fall of the Roman Empire* (New York, 1976) 133–245.

97. *Barbarian youth, detail of Cat. No. 15*

the highly polished ancient surface is otherwise well preserved. The pupils of his eyes are drilled in the shape of kidney beans, and the drill is also used extensively in the hair to articulate the spiral curls, which are arranged in four descending layers. Each vertical ringlet is outlined by short, deep drill channels with narrow bridges left between. Chisel strokes indicate the diagonal direction of the individual locks. The eyes, set back into the small head, are enlarged and framed by rounded brows. The mouth is slightly parted and deeply drilled. The cheeks are modeled but the emphasis is on the pure oval shape of the head itself, which is strongly classicizing in feeling with its smoothed and polished forms. The translucent surface of the face further contrasts with the deeply drilled and textured treatment of the hair. The heavy-lidded eyes and the sensuous, full lower lip give an impression of dreamy languor to the beautifully carved head of the young black.

To the right of the Negro head is a female one, turned downward in the opposite direction to her left. Her right arm is also preserved and is raised and curved over her head with the hand extending onto the right short side (fig. 98). Her hair falls to her shoulders in long scattered curls, the drill outlining the locks in a sketchy manner. Her nose is broken off with part of the upper lip. The eyes are half closed, but the kidney-bean shape of the drilled pupils is still visible. Slight traces of red color are discernible at the corners of the eyes. The right cheek is chipped, and there is heavy incrustation around the hairline. The ancient highly polished surface is well preserved. Her pose and heavy-lidded eyes identify her as a maenad, one of the worshipers in the *thiasos*, or retinue, of Dionysus.² She allows us to connect the original monument with the popular Dionysiac sarcophagi series.³ The young Ethiopian head specifically relates the fragment to the scenes of the Indian Tri-



2. On the cult of Dionysus see especially Roscher, *Mythol. Lex.*, I, cols. 1085 ff. (F. A. Voigt); IV, cols. 232 ff. (Eisele); *RE*, s.v. "Mysterien" and "Sabazios"; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris, 1951); A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater. Origine et expansion du culte dionysiaque à Rome et dans le monde romain* (Paris, 1953); M. P. Nilsson, "The Bacchic Mysteries of the Roman Age," *Harvard Theological Review*, 46 (1953) 175 ff.; F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1956) 194–204, 302–313; M. P. Nilsson, "The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age," *Acta instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*, 5 (1957); W. F. Otto, *Dionysus Myth and Cult* (Bloomington, Ind., 1965).

3. Pietrogrande, 177 ff.; Lehmann—Olsen; Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*; Turcan; Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 1–4. For interpretation of the myth in a funerary context, see also Richmond, 29 ff.

98. *Right corner, detail of Cat. No. 15*



99. *Triumph of Dionysus, handle of Roman silver-gilt dish. Second century*
MMA, Rogers Fund, 54.11.8



100. *Triumph of Dionysus, from Roman Egypt. Third or fourth century*
MMA, Gift of George F. Baker, 90.5.873

umph of Bacchus.⁴ Among the various myths that surround Dionysus, the one of his triumphal return from India, accompanied by his usual retinue of maenads and satyrs as well as by barbarian prisoners and exotic animals, especially illustrates the saving power of the god. It was after his Eastern campaigns, modeled on the historical conquests of Alexander the Great,⁵ and his triumphal return to the West that his cult was established and commemorated in spring festivals that also celebrated the creative renewal of natural life. We know that religious guilds (*thiasoi*) formed processions imitating the triumphal entry of the god, and inscriptions give us some idea of the

organization and liturgy of these cult groups or colleges. An especially extensive inscription of this kind is in the Metropolitan's collection (acc. no. 26.60.70) and is of unique importance for our knowledge of the structure of a Bacchic *thiasos* as well as its documentation of a large East Greek community of worshipers transplanted into Latium.⁶ It was to this type of community that the aristocratic commissioner of our sarcophagus must have belonged, and he selected the Triumph motif also for its personal meaning. He surely thought of himself as a *triumphator* over evil and specifically over death through his association with the savior god.

While sarcophagi illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus go back to the Antonine period, the great majority of them are from the Severan age. This is not surprising in the light of the well-known Eastern cult interests of the Severan rulers and the religious syncretism of the times. Dionysus was identified with Sabazios, the Thraco-Phrygian nature god, and also with Sarapis, the Egyptian god of the lower world. It is known that the latter was especially adopted by the founder of the Severan dynasty, Septimius Severus.⁷ Furthermore, Liber, the Roman Bacchus, was the patron god of Lepcis Magna, the home of Severus, and special emphasis is given to this god on its coinage.⁸ It is also easy to understand why the Dionysiac mystery cult had an irresistible appeal, especially to the upper classes, as witnessed by the wealth of Dionysiac sarcophagi and the wide use of the myth in other areas of art (figs. 99, 100).⁹ Excitement was especially stressed through the Bacchic procession, and by the sacred wine of the god the

4. B. Graef, *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa* (Berlin, 1886); C. Robert, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Cliveden," *JHS*, 20 (1900) 81–98, pls. VII–XII; F. Matz, "Der Gott auf dem Elefantenwagen," *AbhMainz* (1952) no. 10; *idem*, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 2, pp. 188 ff.

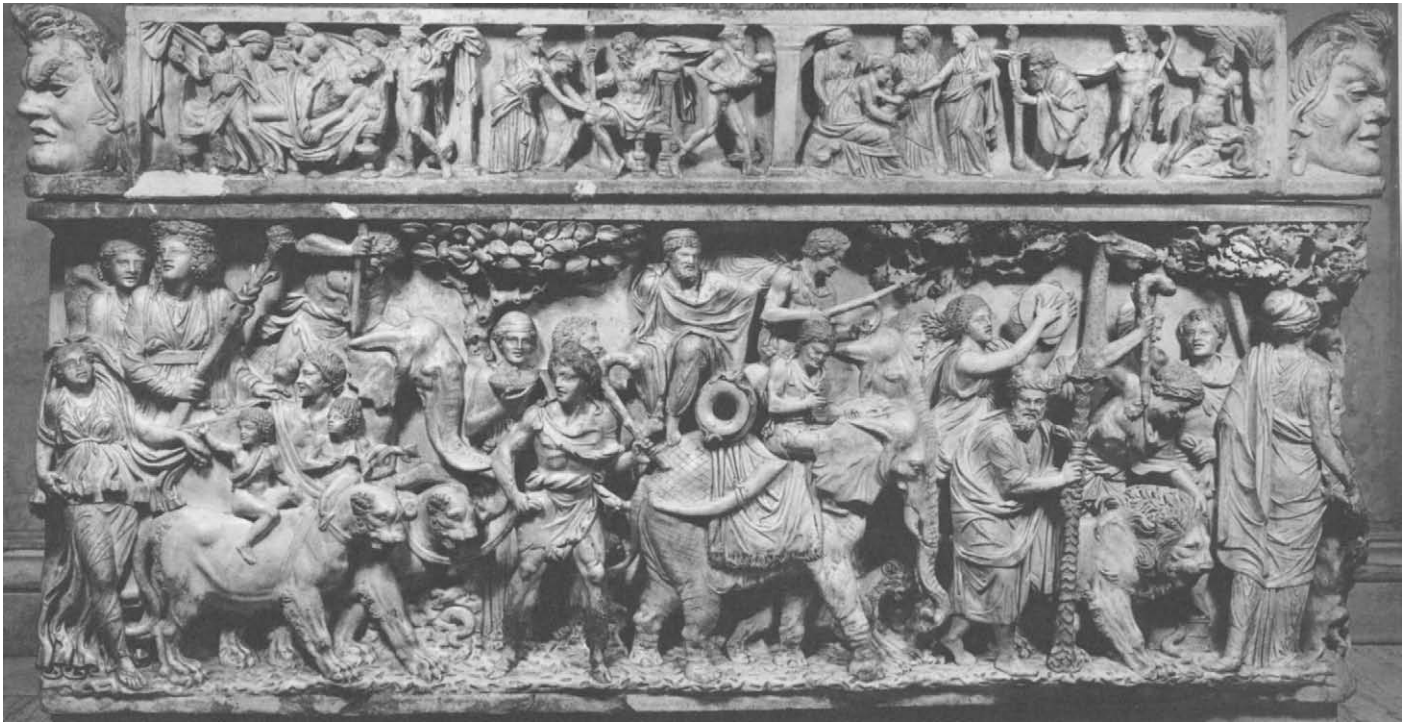
5. Graef, *op. cit.*; Turcan, 441 ff. For ancient sources, see especially Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIII ff.

6. A. Vogliano and F. Cumont, "The Bacchic Inscription in the Metropolitan Museum," *AJA*, 37 (1933) 215–270. I am grateful to Sterling Dow for bringing to my attention this important inscription, which he intends to republish.

7. McCann, 109 ff.

8. *Ibid.*, 65, pl. IX, fig. 2.

9. For example, see the famous painting cycle in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri* (Rome, 1947). In the Museum's collection the scene of the Triumph is beautifully represented on the handle of a Roman silver-gilt dish of the second century, said to be from Iran (acc. no. 54.11.8; our fig. 99), C. Alexander, "A Roman Silver Relief: The Indian Triumph of Dionysos," *BMAA*, 14 (1955) 64–67. It also appears on an elaborate textile of the third century from Roman Egypt (acc. no. 90.5.873; our fig. 100), M. S. Dimand, "Classification of Coptic Textiles," *Coptic Egypt* (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1944); P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism* (Berkeley



101. *Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 23.31

102. *Detail of fig. 101*



initiate was freed from the cares of his earthly life to be united through ecstasy with the god himself. It had a developed Eastern liturgy, which would have attracted the educated mind, and it shared with the other mystery cults a stress on mystic rites, cultivation of the social bond, and finally the supreme reward of eternal life to the initiated.

The earliest sarcophagi in the Triumph series, which was first studied by B. Graef in 1886 and most recently by F. Matz, shows Dionysus standing in a chariot usually drawn by centaurs or panthers.¹⁰ The emphasis is on the god as the dispenser of wine accompanied by his ecstatic retinue and on the mystic rites of initiation. Dionysus may also be accompanied by

—Los Angeles, 1945) 27 ff., pl. 10; V. F. Lenzen, *Triumph of Dionysos on Textiles of Late Antique Egypt*, Univ. of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, V, 1 (Berkeley—Los Angeles, 1960) pl. 2.

10. For the earliest examples in the Centaur series dating from about 150, Matz cites the sarcophagi in the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 1, no. 59, pl. 69; in the Uffizi, Florence, *ibid.*, IV, 2, no. 115, pl. 135,2 and 140; and in S. Agostino, in Genoa, *ibid.*, no. 116, pl. 135,1. For the development of the type, see *ibid.*, 245 ff.

For the Panther series, see *ibid.*, 212 ff. The earliest in this group is the fragment in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican, which he also dates about 150, *ibid.*, no. 94, pl. 123,2, and the fine example in Baltimore, *ibid.*, no. 95, pls. 116–120, which he dates in the decade 170–180. Cf. Lehmann—Olsen for a date between 180 and 200, pp. 70 ff., and 71, n. 216.

Concerning the identification of panthers, this writer must agree with Lehmann, Olsen, and other scholars, rather than with Matz, who believes they are tigers.

Ariadne¹¹ or Herakles.¹² While there is a good deal of variety in iconography, R. Turcan in his recent thorough study identifies a shift in emphasis in the Dionysiac triumphal representations on sarcophagi during the late Antonine period.¹³ At this time more human types are introduced into the mythological processional group as well as additional exotic animals. There is now a stress on Dionysus as the missionary god who chastises the impious and wins followers through his campaigns to the far corners of the world.¹⁴ Indian prisoners, adopting the iconography of the Ethiopian, a type already previously well developed in ancient art,¹⁵ play an increasingly dominant role. This interest in the military aspects of his legends Turcan further associates with the historic climate during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Indeed, we will note similar changes in the development of the battle theme on sarcophagi during his reign.¹⁶

In the Severan period, scenes of the Indian Triumph on sarcophagi usually show the chariot of Bacchus drawn by elephants, and giraffes are commonly included in the cortege. It is to this latter group of triumphal sarcophagi that our fragment in the Museum must belong. The closest iconographic parallel found for the Negro head is on the famous sarcophagus in Baltimore,¹⁷ which shows, besides the older barbarians riding on elephants, two barbarian children with Ethiopian characteristics riding on the backs of the two panthers that draw the chariot of the god (figs. 101, 102). They have been identified by K. Lehmann and E. Olsen as young converts to the cult, for they wear the *nebris*, and it is known that there was a special emphasis on the initiation of children into the Bacchic mysteries.¹⁸ The head of the black youth from the Museum's fragment is similar in both its facial features and hair style to the heads of these young converts, rather than to those of the

older Indian prisoners that appear throughout the series. An exact parallel, however, for the Museum's complete corner group has not been found on any of the other Dionysiac sarcophagi. The Museum's two heads reveal a style somewhat later than that of the Baltimore sarcophagus, which is dated by Lehmann and Olsen about 190 and traced back to a painted prototype originating in the decade of the 170s.¹⁹ Matz traces the painted source ultimately back to Greek high Hellenistic art.²⁰ That a painting was behind the compositional groups used on the sarcophagi seems clear, particularly in the case of the Baltimore example, which is unique in its use of landscape motifs and is closest to representations of the scene on Roman mosaics.²¹

For a stylistic parallel, Cat. No. 15 may be compared with a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum illustrating the Indian Triumph (figs. 103, 104).²² Dionysus' chariot is here drawn by two elephants ridden by two young Indian boys. The head of one of them is preserved, and has corkscrew locks. To his immediate right along the upper rim of the sarcophagus, a maenad claps her cymbals over her head, lost in ecstasy. Both Matz and Andreae date the Lateran monument in the early Severan period. If one further contrasts our fragment with the other Dionysiac sarcophagus in the Museum's collection, the example from Badminton Hall [Cat. No. 17] dated here into the second quarter of the third century,²³ an early Severan date is secured. On the sarcophagus from Badminton Hall (fig. 109), more advanced stylistic features are apparent such as the increased abstraction visible in the faces of the young Seasons with their enlarged eyes and sleek oval forms. The drill work in the hair and beards of the figures is also deeper and more schematized. The classicizing style noted in the face of the Negro boy in the fragment has been further developed and is

11. For example, see the sarcophagus in the Casino Rospigliosi, Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 1, no. 59, pl. 69.

12. For example, see *ibid.*, IV, 2, pp. 216 ff.

13. Turcan, 471 ff.

14. For sarcophagi illustrating Dionysus' battles with the oriental tribes, see L. Guerrini, "Un sarcofago dionisiaco del Museo di Grottaferrata," *Studi miscellanei*, 12 (1967) 4 ff. I am grateful to Dr. E. Fabbriotti for this reference.

15. For the most recent study of the type see Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, with earlier bibliography. See also D. Kiang, "The Brooklyn Museum's New Head of a Black," *Archaeology*, 25 (1972) 4-7. For their use on sarcophagi specifically see H. Graeven, "Die Darstellungen der Inder in antiken Kunstwerken," *JdI*, 15 (1900) 195 ff.

16. See discussion of the battle sarcophagus below, Cat. No. 18, pp. 107 ff.

17. See above, n. 10.

18. Lehmann-Olsen, 27; Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, 149-150.

19. Lehmann-Olsen, 72. J. Ward Perkins in a recent article, "Workshops and Clients: the Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore," *Rend-*

PontAcc, 48 (1975-1976) 191-238, has identified the marble of this sarcophagus as Thasian, a rare material for sarcophagi carved in the West, as well as that of the Victory sarcophagus in Baltimore, Lehmann-Olsen, fig. 27, p. 78, dated about 210 on stylistic grounds. Because of the similar marble used, J. Ward Perkins suggests that they may have been made as a pair and both date about 210. While the identification of the marble is an important feature often ignored, a date as late as 210 for the Baltimore Triumph sarcophagus still remains questionable on the stylistic evidence, in this author's opinion.

20. *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 2, pp. 212 ff., 230.

21. See *ibid.*, for a list of mosaics with the theme. Cf. especially a mosaic in Sousse; G. Guidi, "Orfeo, Liber, Pater e Ocean in mosaici della Tripolitania," *Africa Italiana*, 6 (1935) 147, fig. 34, and Lehmann-Olsen, 72, n. 220.

22. Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 2, no. 139, pls. 160, 162, 163, 1, and 164, 1. Helbig, *I*, no. 1125 (Andreae).

23. See below, pp. 103 ff.



103. *Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus*
Rome, Lateran, inv. 10428. Photo: Alinari 6395

104. *Detail of fig. 103*
Photo: Vatican

a trend that first emerges in Severan art in the late portraits of Septimius Severus and those of his sons in the first decade of the third century.²⁴ A date early in the first quarter of the third century for the Museum's fragment seems appropriate.

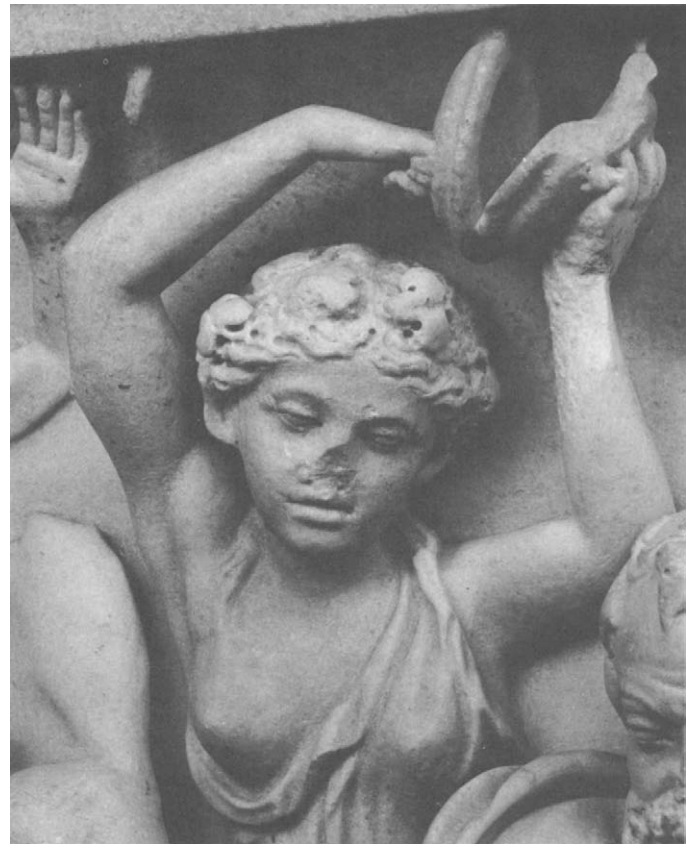
Through this small but exquisite fragment of the Indian Triumph of Dionysus we have another contact with the rich life of the mystery cults of ancient Rome, which played such an important part in the religious transition of the pagan to the Christian world. It has been rightly noted that because of them the ultimate triumph of Christianity was an "evolution not a revolution."²⁵ Furthermore, the Museum's fragment apparently documents a compositional type that is thus far unknown in other existing examples of the Indian Triumph theme. It thus may be used as evidence of a further variant in the wide circle of Dionysiac sarcophagi, which remind us of the longing of mankind for permanence in an evolving world and the need for a direct relationship with divinity.

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24. McCann, 121 ff.

25. Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, intro. p. x (G. Schowerman).





16. Fragment of an Indian Triumph of Dionysus Sarcophagus

18.145.57

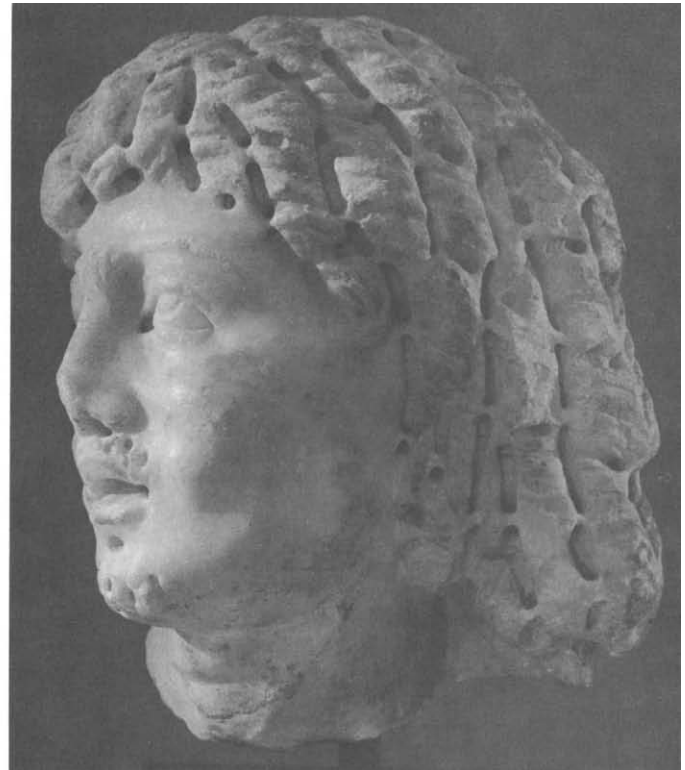
Early Severan, first quarter of the third century.

Purchased by John Marshall. Rogers Fund.

Greek marble, medium-sized crystals. Max. H. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.17 m.); max. W. $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.12 m.).

THE MALE barbarian head (figs. 105, 106) with corkscrew curls, short mustache, and chin beard originally belonged to a sarcophagus relief illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus.¹ The head is broken off at the neck with a small pyramidal fragment of the relief background attached. The tip of the nose is missing as well as various ends of the curls of the hair. Incrustation and discoloration of the surface are evident, and the left side of the face is particularly worn.

The head is turned to his right with the eyes glancing upward. The pupils are outlined, and the corners of the eyes deeply drilled. The drill is also used extensively in the hair in deep channels to outline the scattered corkscrew ringlets. Sin-



105, 106. Male barbarian head, fragment of an Indian Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus, Cat. No. 16

gle, dotted, drill holes are used to accent the curls of the mustache and chin beard. The surfaces of the cheeks are modeled, and the swelling brows are ridged. The furrowed brow and widely parted mouth convey a distinct feeling of turmoil and pathos.

The corkscrew locks typical of representations of Ethiopians identify the head as an Eastern barbarian. G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg has compared our fragment with a head in the magazine of the Vatican Museum originally belonging to a sarcophagus illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus, which he dates in the first half of the third century (fig. 107).² For an example of the entire scene, one may further compare the Museum's fragment with a complete sarcophagus in Woburn Abbey dated by Matz in the decade between 210 and 220 (fig. 108).³ Our head is particularly like that of the prisoner

1. For the meaning of the Indian Triumph myth in funerary art and bibliography, see discussion above, pp. 86 ff.

2. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, no. 548, p. 234, pl. 86.

3. Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 2, no. 100, pls. 126; 128,1; 130; 131; 132; Turcan, 247 ff., who agrees with Matz's date of 210–220.

shown in three-quarter view riding on an elephant in the middle foreground. Both heads share an extensive and sketchy use of the drill in the corkscrew curls and a realistic modeling of the fleshy surfaces. The Woburn Abbey sarcophagus belongs to the later group of Triumph scenes and shows Dionysus on the left standing in his chariot drawn by panthers.

If one contrasts the Metropolitan's head of an older barbarian with the head of the black youth previously discussed (figs. 96, 97), the slightly more advanced style of Cat. No. 16 is apparent. The drill is used more extensively and cursorily in the hair, and digs into the surface of the flesh to indicate the beard and mustache. The emphasis on realism and pathos in the head of the older man also reveals an artist with more interest in baroque expression than in classical forms. Even in the miniature head, the artist has conveyed the ter-

rorized expression of the old, bound captive whose fate as an unbeliever yet awaits him. In contrast is the head of the young barbarian boy whose dreamy look indicates his acceptance into the cortege of believers. The two fragments strikingly reveal two different aspects of the Dionysiac triumphal legend and increase our understanding of the Roman attitude toward the foreign races they conquered.

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G. M. A. Richter, "A New Classical Study Room," *BMMA*, 24 (1929) 142, fig. 2; Richter, *Handbook* (1930) fig. 242; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, no. 548, p. 234; A. M. McCann, "Two Fragments of Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Illustrating the Indian Triumph of Dionysus," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 36 (1977) 123-136, figs. 17, 18.

107. Head of a barbarian from a Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus

Rome, Vatican magazine, inv. 3457



108. Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus
Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey





17. Triumph of Dionysus and the Seasons Sarcophagus

55.11.5

Late Severan, 220–235.

Purchased from His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Badminton Hall, Gloucestershire. Originally in the collection of Cardinal Giulio Alberoni (1664–1752) and presumably found in Rome. Acquired by the third Duke of Beaufort in 1728–1729. Carved on the back is the inscription: 1733 *HIC POS[itu]M*, dating its installation at Badminton. Pulitzer Fund.

Phrygian marble, small crystals with red and gray veins, highly translucent. H. 2 ft. 10 in. (0.86 m.); L. at top of coffin 7 ft. 1 in. (2.16 m.); L. at base of coffin 6 ft. 11³/₄ in. (2.14 m.); D. at base of coffin 2 ft. 7 in. (0.79 m.); D. at top of coffin 3 ft. 1/4 in. (0.92 m.); max. D. of relief 5 in. (0.13 m.).

109. *Triumph of Dionysus and the Seasons sarcophagus*, Cat. No. 17

THE *lenos* sarcophagus (fig. 109), showing Dionysus seated on a panther as the central motif, surrounded by the Four Seasons, is complete except for its lid, which must have been similar in form to that of the Endymion sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4]. Its superb quality, its monumental form, and the richness of its iconography make it a masterpiece among Roman sarcophagi.

It came to the Museum from the collection of the dukes of Beaufort at Badminton Hall, Gloucestershire, England. The coffin still rests on the four Palladian, black marble balls and base designed for it by the English architect William Kent when he was redecorating Badminton Hall in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. The inscription on the back (fig. 111) documents its placement in the Great Hall in 1733. The back of the sarcophagus (fig. 111) is of further interest, as it reveals the various stages of sculptural carving. The upper part of the back has been left rough, showing the first stage of work with a pick hammer. Two cuttings for clamps to attach the lid

are visible at either end of this projecting section. Just below, a narrow horizontal band was further dressed down with a finer point. The lower half of the back was then sawed off, perhaps to fit over a molding in the tomb where it originally was placed. A claw chisel was used to finish the curved ends, while the figures on the front and sides were polished. On the lower, smooth section of the back, a series of concentric circles and rosettes made by the sculptor's compass are visible (fig. 110). They appear to be ancient, and were probably made by artisans in the workshop who utilized the available smooth area to work out their designs.¹ The surface of the whole sarcophagus was cleaned at some time before it came to the Museum, the original surface remaining only on the back underside of the coffin, and on some of the carved details, such as the basket carried by the winged Season on the far right of the right short side. Otherwise the sarcophagus is in excellent condition. Only small fragments are missing: the left arm of the amorino below the neck of the panther, the top of the sickle held by Summer, the penis of Winter, and the end of the left crab claw decorating the hair of Ocean. Most of the noses and some of the fingers and toes have been broken off. Some have been restored in marble, others in plaster. The hands and baskets of Summer and Spring on the front of the relief have been broken and reattached. The dog's head by the left foot of Summer has also been reattached with a modern section between. The wreath of the winged Season holding a goat on the right short

side is restored. A diagonal crack in the frontal relief runs across the chest of Dionysus through the neck of the panther.

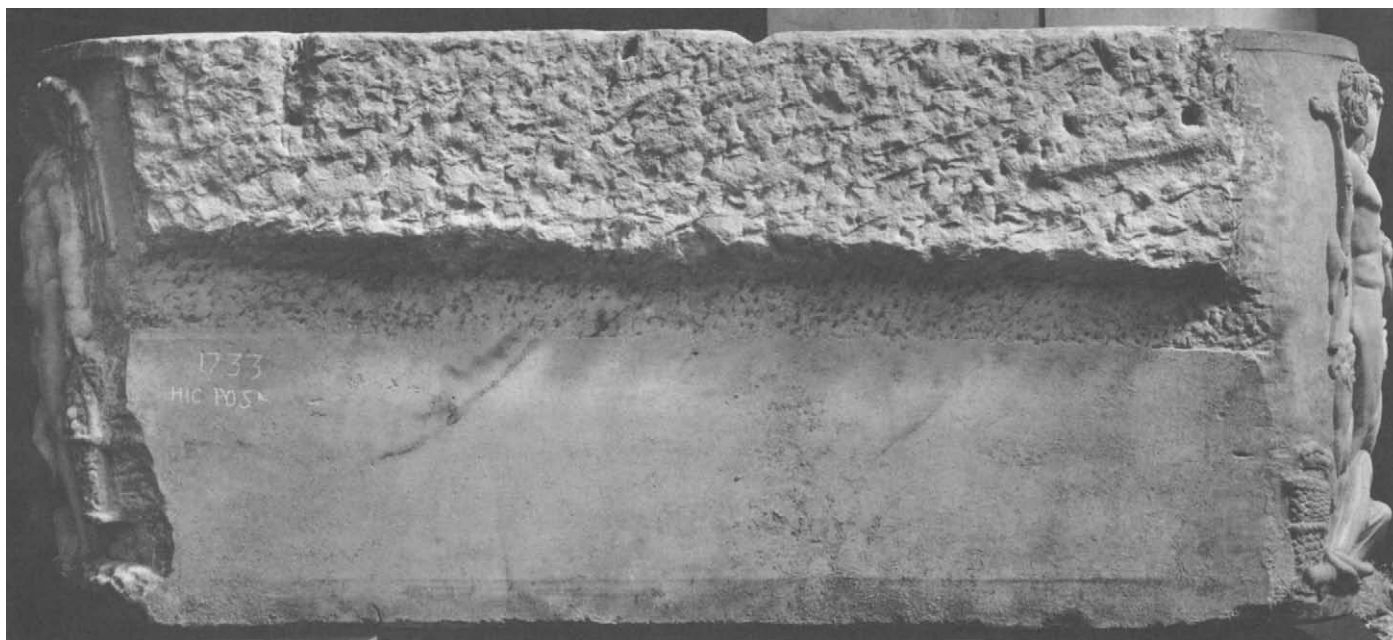
Forty human and animal figures are crowded onto the three carved sides of the Badminton sarcophagus. Moving from left to right on the frontal relief, the Four Seasons, each with a chlamys draped over his left shoulder, may be identified by their appropriate attributes (fig. 109): Winter on the far left wreathed with rushes holds a brace of ducks and carries a reed



110. Circles and rosettes scratched on the back of Cat. No. 17

111. Rear view of Cat. No. 17

1. A similar use of a back of a sarcophagus may be observed on the coffin showing the Triumph of Dionysus in Baltimore, Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 2, no. 95, pl. 120.





112. Section of the frontal panel of Cat. No. 17

with a wild boar at his feet; next to him is Spring, garlanded with flowers, who carries a basket of flowers and a flowering branch with a small stag below; to the right of Dionysus, Summer, with a wreath of wheat, turns to the right holding a basket of wheat and a sickle, the blade of which is missing. A goat can be seen below his legs. Fall finishes the cycle at the right corner. He grasps a cornucopia of fruit in one hand and a hare in the other. A garland of fruit decorates his hair. Dionysus is placed in the center of the composition (fig. 112) and sits on his panther side-saddle with his head turned to the right. The lower part of his body is draped in a full himation and he wears a goatskin over his left shoulder. On his feet are sandals. He holds his thyrsos and pours wine from a kantharos into a rhyton held up by Pan. Representations of the god in this particular pose and dress are known only in our example

and on a sarcophagus in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Kassel, Germany (figs. 113–116).² A lively figure of Pan sits next to him with a drinking horn in his right hand and a wineskin over his left shoulder. Below Dionysus' left foot (fig. 112) is a basket from which a snake emerges, and, to the right behind a goat, the *liknon* with the phallus draped in cloth (fig. 112). These elements, part of the mystery rites, are repeatedly found on Dionysiac sarcophagi.³ Against the rim of the sarcophagus, in back and to the left of Dionysus' head, a mustached satyr in profile is carved in low relief. He holds a *tympanon* and a *lagobolon* (curved staff). To the right, the upper part of a danc-

2. *Ibid.*, IV, 4, no. 259, pp. 449 ff., pls. 269, 274–277.

3. Besides Matz, *op. cit.*, see the basic study by Lehmann—Olsen. For bibliography on the Dionysiac mystery rites see above, p. 87, n. 2.

ing maenad clapping her cymbals emerges from the background. Completing the scene and filling the intervening spaces are small amorini and animals, which distract the eye as they dart in and around the larger, more stable figures.

The Four Seasons combined here with Dionysus, the god of the renewal of life, must take on a special meaning. Seasons have been interpreted as symbols of the renewal of life as seen in nature or as indications of the passage of time, particularly connected with the four stages in man's life from babyhood to youth, to manhood, and to old age.⁴ Also they are sometimes

of an afterlife for the departed, who must have been a member of a Dionysiac mystery cult.

This symbolism is given a cosmological framework such as that seen in the earlier Endymion sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4] by the allegorical figures of Earth and Ocean portrayed on each of the curving ends (figs. 38, 39). On the left end (fig. 118), Earth holds a cornucopia filled with fruits in her right hand, and a little bull lies beneath her left arm. Behind her are two further, unwinged figures. The one on the left is an adult satyr who carries a basket of fruit on his left



113. *Triumph of Dionysus and the Seasons sarcophagus* Kassel, Landesmuseum

simply figures bringing offerings to the tomb of the dead. On the Badminton sarcophagus they appear to be symbols of apotheosis, and probably the deceased himself is intended to be associated with the image of the god.⁵ In later versions of the scene, the figure of the deceased, or his portrait contained in a *clipeus*, even replaces that of Dionysus (fig. 117).⁶ The epiphany of the god in the Badminton sarcophagus gives explicit hope

shoulder and his *lagobolon* on his right. A panther sits with paw raised on a basket of grapes at his feet. To the right is a young boy wearing a wreath and carrying fruits in his *nebris*. He is probably to be identified as a personification of one of the fruits of the Seasons, or *karpoi*, rather than a further Season of a second cycle as Matz suggested, for he does not carry distinctive attributes and has no wings.⁷ Two smaller amorini

4. See discussion and bibliography cited below, pp. 135 ff.

5. See Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, 15 ff., 142, and rev. by Hanfmann in *Gnomon*, 31 (1959) 537.

6. For other examples, see Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, pls. 31, 32, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45–47, 52–55, 57–61, 66–68; H. Sichtermann, "Neue römische Sarkophage mit Jahreszeiten," *Mélanges*, 303 ff., sarcophagus in Naples, pl. 105.

7. This identification has been suggested to me by M. Lawrence to whom I am grateful for the following bibliographical references on *karpoi*: M. Rostovtzeff, "Κάρποι," *Revue des études anciennes*, 42 (1940) 508 ff.; M. J. Charbonneaux, "Aïôn et Philippe l'Arabe," *Mélanges*, 72 (1960) 253 ff. Also see Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 187, 257; II, ch. III, n. 49, and ch. IX, n. 112, where a sarcophagus in Ostia is cited that shows Tellus with two *karpoi*.





114–116. Details of fig. 113

117 (below). *Season sarcophagus*
Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks. Photo: Anderson 6377



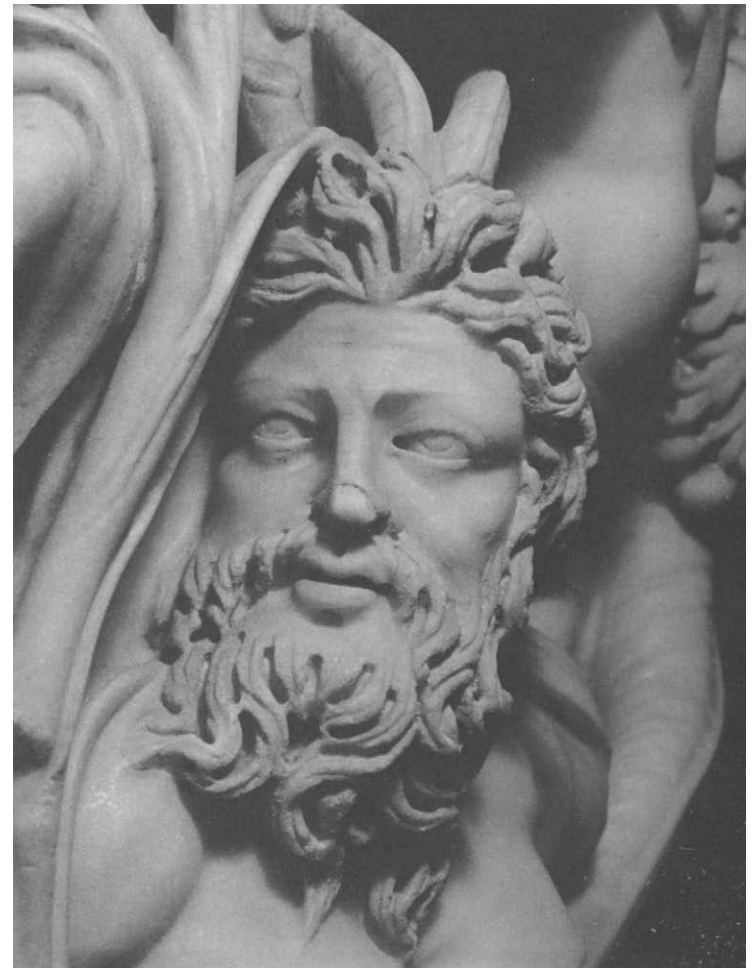


118. Left curved end of Cat. No. 17



119. Right curved end of Cat. No. 17

120. Ocean, detail from the right end of Cat. No. 17



fill the space between the figures. On the right end Ocean (figs. 119, 120), in the pose of a Hellenistic river god, leans on a jar from which water flows. He is horned and also wears crab claws in his hair. He holds a water plant in his right hand and a cornucopia with fruit in his left. Behind him are two winged youths, thus probably here to be identified as two additional Seasons. Spring is placed behind Ocean and holds a goat and a full bowl. To his right, part of a pedestal is seen upon which a decorative vessel with volute handles is placed, a motif found on other Bacchic sarcophagi.⁸ It is closest to decorative marble vases that often stood on columns or pedestals in the gardens of antiquity, although no exact parallel for this particular shape has been found.⁹ On the far right, Winter holds a pine branch and a basket of olives (?). Smaller amorini emerge between the larger figures. The scenes on the two curved ends are thus limited to the same theme represented on

8. For example, see the sarcophagus in the Terme Museum, Rome, Turcan, 157–158, 538, pl. 15b; P. Gusman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome de la fin de la république au IV^e siècle* (Paris, 1912) I, pl. 56,1.

9. See, for example, a marble vessel in the Vatican that stood on a pedestal, G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1956) III, 2, p. 386, no. 20, pl. 163. Cf. P. Grimal, *Les Jardins romains* (Paris, 1943). I am grateful to Dr. E. Fabbricotti for this comparison, which also seems convincing to me.

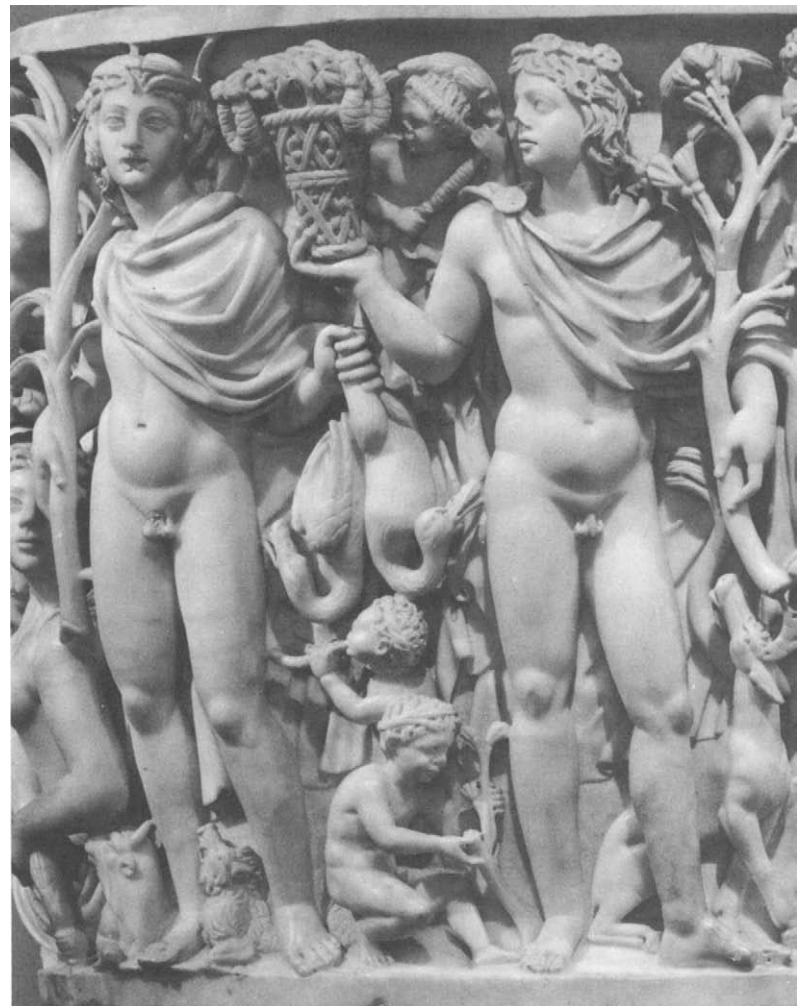
the front, fertility and the renewal of life. One can see that a new symbolic imagery has triumphed over classical mythology, which dominated sarcophagus decoration in the previous century. The mythological figures are still present but subservient to the new urgent and more personal message the Romans now desired. All is placed within the cosmological setting in which the later educated Romans desired themselves and their dead to be seen. The brutality and uncertainty of the real world are not reflected in this sepulchral art, which concentrates on the spiritual hopes of man.

The stylistic development anticipated in the style of the Arria sarcophagus has been realized in this later work. There still can be seen in the earlier piece the merging of two stylistic traditions—the classical ideal with its organic concepts of form and beauty, and the emerging desire to express abstract ideas that must dissolve the rational world and create new forms increasingly divorced from nature and spatial reality. In the Badminton sarcophagus the classical, visual world has receded. Elongated figures fill the space, which can no longer be rationally experienced. All crowds to the surface, and figures float in a spatial world no longer controlled by gravity. The resulting lace-like effect of the design has rightly been compared to that of *diatreta*, thread-decorated Roman glass of this period.¹⁰ An effect of further instability is created by the decidedly flared shape of the sarcophagus itself, which causes the figures to project as much as 0.13 m. This is a world of virtuoso techniques, which achieves its effect largely through the light that flickers in and out over the broken surface. One must also imagine that at least details such as the hair and attributes were originally gilded, adding to the luminous effect.¹¹

The composition focuses on the center, and the principles of abstract symmetry and frontality dominate over the naturalness of movement that still flows through the figures on the earlier Endymion sarcophagus. Furthermore, organic proportions have been given up in favor of the beauty of a new abstract order. The sleek bodies of the male Seasons show little structural form. What classical beauty remains lies on the surface, caught in a new abstract and illuminated world. The heads of the Seasons in particular already show the forms of



121, 122. *The Seasons*, details of Cat. No. 17



10. Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, 14, and rev. by G. Hanfmann, *Gnomon*, 31 (1959) 534.

11. For use of polychromy and gilding in antiquity, see Pietrogrande, 177 ff.; P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik, Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm, 1960), with further bibliography on pp. 9–27, rev. by G. M. A. Richter, *AJA*, 65 (1961) 209–210.

Late Antique art. Their rounded, oval shape and large eyes may be compared to portrait heads from the second quarter of the third century.¹²

In turning to the composition as a whole, by comparison with the overcrowded reliefs of the late Antonine sarcophagi, the Badminton in one sense shows a return to classical principles of order given by the vertical controlling accents of the Seasons in the composition. But the overall effect produced is very "unclassical" in its tension of diverse elements and the new transparency of the spatial design. In art-historical terms, the Antonine baroque style of illusionism is being transformed into the Late Antique style of abstraction and expression that will dominate Roman art in the second half of the third and the fourth centuries.

The artist of the Badminton sarcophagus created one of the earliest Season sarcophagi, a popular iconographic type that continues into Early Christian art. Male Seasons had been known in imperial art since the time of Trajan, when they first appeared on his triumphal arch at Beneventum.¹³ During the Hadrianic period they were first used as decorations on sarcophagi. The motif would seem then to have been the creation of a court sculptor who was stimulated by the imperial, philosophic climate in which he moved. We have already seen an example of the Seasons in the form of delightful amorini on an earlier sarcophagus in the Museum [Cat. No. 1]. On the Badminton, however, they have become young boys (figs. 121, 122) whose elongated forms fill the compositional field. Combined with the god Dionysus, who sits on his panther between them, they make up the major motif. Around them, carved on a smaller scale, are placed other Bacchic figures including satyrs, amorini, and animals. These participants in the *thiasos* of Dionysus have now become subordinate to the main theme. Their small, lively forms are in direct contrast to the tall, static figures of the Four Seasons who dominate over the Bacchic entourage. Only Dionysus, the god who saves, retains a central role, pouring the mystical wine. While the compositional design of the god on his panther may be traced back to Greek art, there is no parallel for his association with the Seasons and for the combination of compositional elements used.¹⁴

Whether the Badminton sarcophagus is the earliest surviving example of this new and popular Season sarcophagus type is a question.¹⁵ Within the series, there is only one other sarcophagus, the one in Kassel previously mentioned, which is based on the same design (figs. 113–116).¹⁶ While the Badminton and Kassel sarcophagi are not copies of one another, they are so close in design that it is obvious that they must derive from a common model. The master of the original composition must have been one of the leading sculptors in the

Severan workshops of Rome, for most of the some one hundred existing Season sarcophagi come from the capital city. In this sequence Matz has placed the Badminton monument earlier, dating it between 220 and 235, and the Kassel example slightly later, between 235 and 245, on the basis of their styles.¹⁷ G. Hanfmann also follows this chronology and heralds the Badminton sarcophagus as the earliest surviving example of the Season type.¹⁸ Most recently M. Lawrence, on the other hand, argues for an earlier dating for the classicizing sarcophagus in Kassel in her forthcoming book on sarcophagi, the manuscript of which she has kindly shared with me. Since the dating of the two monuments does affect our interpretation of the role of the Badminton sarcophagus in the evolution of an important iconographic type, it seems appropriate to present here, with her kind permission, some of Miss Lawrence's arguments with which I agree.

12. See, for example, the portraits of the Cosmètes from Greece dated by P. Graindor around the middle of the third century, "Les Cosmètes du Musée d'Athènes," *BCH*, 39 (1915) 360 ff.; cf. also a head from a sarcophagus in Athens published by G. Rodenwaldt, "Der Klinensarkophag von S. Lorenzo," *JdI*, 45 (1930) 134, figs. 13, 14.

13. See discussion of Seasons below, Cat. No. 23, pp. 135 ff.

14. For a list of Greek and Roman monuments using this motif, see Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, 15–18, where it is traced back to Greek painting of the fifth century B.C.

Matz's suggestion, however, that the whole compositional design may be traced back to lost Greek Hellenistic painting appears unproven to this writer. While it is true that often individual figure types can be traced back to the Greek world and must have been known through copybooks passed down from one sculptural workshop to another, the total composition and spatial setting of the sarcophagus reliefs for the most part appear to be Roman and the creation of the masters of the sarcophagus designs.

15. See Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 4, 439–441; Hanfmann, *Gnomon*, 31 (1959) 538.

16. See above, n. 2; M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen in Cassel* (Kassel, 1915) no. 86, pp. 43 ff. Bieber dates the Kassel sarcophagus ca. 200.

17. In the evolution of the Season sarcophagus type, Matz further considers two columnar sarcophagi, one in the Villa Savoia (*Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 4, no. 246) and the other in the cathedral of S. Lorenzo in Genoa (*ibid.*, no. 247) as earlier than either the Badminton or Kassel sarcophagus. The early date of the columnar sarcophagus in the Villa Savoia has been challenged by M. Lawrence on the architectural evidence in her review of Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk* in *AJA*, 64 (1960) 110 ff.; *idem*, "Season Sarcophagi of the Architectural Type," *AJA*, 62 (1958) 278–281, pl. 74, figs. 7–10. The puzzling front of the columnar sarcophagus immured in the campanile of the cathedral at Genoa may also be rejected, for it is too much damaged to be used for critical evidence. See also M. Lawrence, rev. of Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage* in *AJA*, 81 (1977) 132–133, where she dates the Kassel sarcophagus between 200 and 220.

18. *Gnomon*, 31 (1959) 538. Cf., *idem*, *ArtB*, 58 (1978) 158, where Hanfmann, now following Lawrence, places the Kassel sarcophagus earlier, between 200 and 220.

First of all, the Kassel sarcophagus, of which only the frontal relief is now preserved, is tall and rectangular in shape, with the figures carved in much lower relief (fig. 116). There is no flare from top to bottom, which is a striking feature of the Badminton coffin and usually is an indication of a later dating. The figure style itself is strongly classicizing, with the structural divisions of the bodies, such as the pelvic area, firmly indicated. These tendencies toward flatter relief and a classicizing figure style also argue for a date early in the third century, perhaps between 210 and 220.¹⁹ The deeply cut, illusionistic baroque style of the Badminton sarcophagus in contrast looks forward to the mid-third century, illustrated by the famous Ludovisi battle sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale (figs. 137–139).²⁰ Furthermore, because the Kassel sarcophagus has been much restored and reworked, its artistic merits have been underestimated. It has suffered by comparison with the well-preserved Badminton sarcophagus, whose baroque style is especially appealing to modern taste. But a re-study of the piece from new photographs suggests that the artist of the Kassel sarcophagus is actually the more sensitive of the two to the design of the original model from which both derive. For example, the panther is much more vicious and lively in the Kassel relief, with his left raised paw clearly visible, giving the body spring and unity. In the Badminton (fig. 112), a small figure of an amorino obscures the animal's forepaw, and often the subsidiary figures throughout the Badminton relief distract from the unity of the design as a whole. The wings of the Seasons in the Kassel relief (figs. 113, 116) remain prominent, while they are lost to the viewer in the Badminton. The poses of the figures in the Kassel sarcophagus are also often more elegant and fluid, as may be seen in a comparison of the two central figures of Dionysus. In the Kassel relief (fig. 114), his curving right arm is more gracefully treated, leading the eye down into the rhythm of the body, while in the Badminton (fig. 112) his right arm is angled sharply back into the receding depth.

Furthermore, the little satyr boy below the panther who crouches to play with the goat is more rhythmically handled in the Kassel relief than in the Badminton, where the same figure stretches his right leg forward awkwardly (fig. 112). These features and others suggest that the Kassel artist has been underestimated by Matz and would appear to follow more closely the original prototype. The artist of the great Badminton coffin was indeed an innovator, but it seems doubtful that he was the creator of the Season sarcophagus type or that he has given us our earliest surviving example of this popular series. Rather, his genius lay in adapting the prototype to a more baroque and illusionistic style.

Matz further relates the Badminton sarcophagus to other pieces that he takes to be from the same workshop,²¹ but his stylistic series does not appear to this writer to be consistent. Among the closest comparisons to the Badminton in style appear to me to be the Endymion sarcophagus from St. Médard-d'Eyran near Bordeaux in the Louvre²² and the hunting sarcophagus in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome (Mattei I),²³ where the carving of the unbearded male heads seems very close to that of the Seasons (figs. 123, 124). Hanfmann has noted the close relationship with the Mattei I hunting sarcophagus and has suggested that one of the sculptors who did the heads of Earth and Winter on the Badminton coffin also worked on this hunting sarcophagus.²⁴ While the design of the Badminton sarcophagus must have been made by the leading master, I would agree with Hanfmann that the execution is by several different hands.

The late Severan date of 220 to 235 proposed by Matz²⁵ and followed by Hanfmann, Lawrence, and others²⁶ is also the one accepted by this writer. Recently, a date in the late Gallienic period about 260 or 270 has been proposed by K. Fittschen²⁷ and B. Andreae.²⁸ Their arguments are based largely upon stylistic comparisons with other sarcophagi, which do not appear to me to be fully convincing.²⁹ Particularly crucial is

19. For a flatter relief style, cf. the Arria sarcophagus in the Metropolitan's collection [Cat. No. 4], dated by its portrait type early in the third century; see above, pp. 39 ff.

For a return to a classicizing style in Severan portraiture, see the late portraits of Septimius Severus, dated 207–211, as illustrated by the bust in Naples (our fig. 126). See McCann, 121–124.

For the classicizing trend in sarcophagi at the end of the second century, cf. the Wedding sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome (our fig. 159); Ryberg, pl. LIX, fig. 95.

20. See p. 110, n. 7.

21. *Röm. Meisterwerk*, 143–168; *Dionys. Sarkophag*, IV, 4, p. 520, workshop 17.

22. Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophag*, IV, 3, no. 222, pls. 234, 237–245.

23. Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, pl. 28a; G. Rodenwaldt, "Zur Kunstgeschichte der Jahre 200 bis 270," *JdI*, 51 (1936) 82 ff., fig. 13, pl. 2.

24. *Gnomon*, 31 (1959) 539.

25. *Dionys. Sarkophag*, IV, 4, no. 258, p. 449.

26. Toynbee, *Art of the Romans*, 103, "early third century," a date which she has recently told me she still supports; D. Strong, no. 115, p. 101.

Both G. Hanfmann and M. Lawrence as well as J. Ward Perkins in recent conversations continue to agree with Matz's late Severan date. See M. Lawrence, *AJA*, 81 (1977) 132–133.

27. K. Fittschen, rev. of Wegner, *Musensarkophag*, in *Gnomon*, 44 (1972) 503; *idem*, *Meleager Sarkophag*, Liebieghaus Monographie, I (Frankfurt am Main, 1975) 14.

28. In a letter to D. von Bothmer, Nov. 27, 1975, he writes, "not earlier than the 250s"; in a lecture, Princeton University, Oct. 1975, he suggested a later date, between 270 and 280.

29. Andreae particularly stresses a close relationship between the Badminton sarcophagus and the Theseus sarcophagus at Cliveden

123.

Lion hunt sarcophagus
Rome, Palazzo Mattei I.
Photo: German Arch. Inst.
29.400



124.

Detail of fig. 123
Photo: German Arch. Inst.
35.2029



(Robert, III, 3, no. 430, pl. cxxxv; *idem*, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Cliveden," *JHS*, 20 (1900) 86 ff., pl. viiib,c,d) (our fig. 128), suggesting that they are from a common workshop. In general, I find the identification of workshop pieces in most cases unproven. There are too few sarcophagi remaining from the vast original number to form secure judgments, and there must have been a great many workshops with many different sculptors as the variety in styles indicates. In any case, Andreae believes the Cliveden sarcophagus to be the earlier of the two and to be dated about 240 to 250 because of the braided hair style used in the portrait head of Ariadne, which is similar to that of Otacilia Severa, 244–249. See

Andreae's reversal of Rodenwaldt's dating of the two hunting sarcophagi in the Palazzo Mattei.³⁰ Mattei I, mentioned above and dated by Rodenwaldt about 220, is placed by Andreae about the mid-century (figs. 123, 124). Most recently, he offers a date even as late as 280–285.³¹ The Mattei II hunting sarcophagus, the more "baroque" in style of the two (fig. 125), Andreae would date then about 220. Part of the evidence used in support of these dates are comparisons with imperial portrait heads, which both Andreae and I agree are only part of

K. Wessel, "Römische Frauenfrisuren von der severischen bis zur konstantinischen Zeit," *AA*, 61–62 (1946–1947) 67 ff. I myself do not see a close stylistic relationship between these two sarcophagi. Rather, the flattened and mannered nude forms in the Cliveden sarcophagus as well as the angular and abstract patterns of the drapery seem distinctly different. By contrast, Cat. No. 17 appears to be the earlier in style of the two within the context of the evolution of Roman art as we now understand it. The drapery folds still wrap around the legs of Dionysus in the classical manner (our fig. 112), revealing the legs beneath, and the nude bodies of the Seasons are round and fleshy by comparison with the elongated and flat bodies of Theseus and Ariadne. While I do not agree with Andreae's comparison in this case, I am grateful to him for generously sharing with me both his ideas and good photographs of the Cliveden sarcophagus.

30. B. Andreae, "Imitazione ed originalità nei sarcofagi romani," *Rend-PontAcc*, 41 (1968–1969) 145 ff.

31. Lecture, Princeton University; see above, n. 28.



125. *Lion hunt sarcophagus*

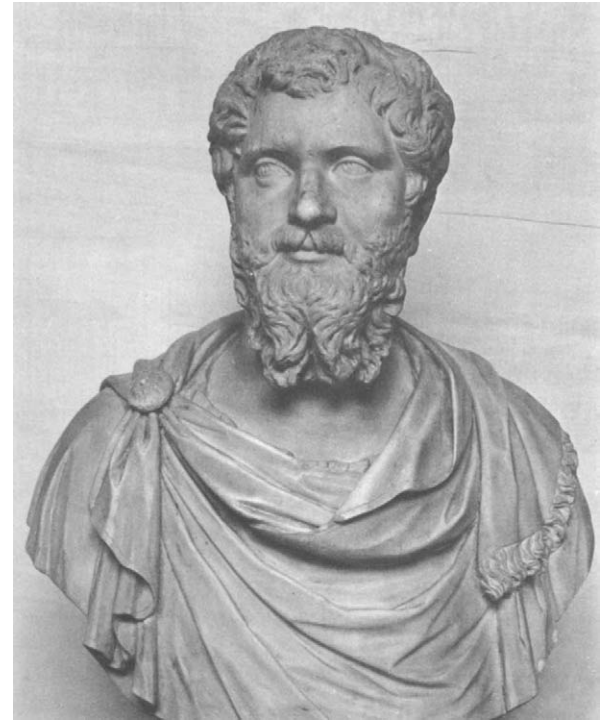
Rome, Palazzo Mattei II. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 35.1973

the evidence, for one also must allow that hair styles probably continued in use by the private citizen for at least a generation or two. The comparison of the portrait head in Mattei I with the emperor Carinus, 283–284, offered by Andreae, does not seem to me stylistically convincing,³² however, and I must share Rodenwaldt's opinion that the portrait heads in Mattei II are close in style to portraits that may be securely dated between 240 and 250.³³ Furthermore, the Mattei I sarcophagus is clearly the finer one of the two upon which the more frozen and abstracted design of the Mattei II sarcophagus derives. The figures in the Mattei I hunt move with life and form a rhythmical and unified screen across the surface of the coffin not unlike those on the Badminton. It is true that both the Mattei I and Badminton sarcophagi reveal a classicizing figure style, but this is a current that never died in Roman art and was not unique to the Gallienic period. In fact, it has already been noted that a classicizing style occurs in the late Severan period, already apparent in the late portraits of Septimius Severus and his family (fig. 126).³⁴ Finally, the size of the Badminton *lenos* sarcophagus with its still relatively long, rectangular form is

32. See above, n. 28.

33. G. Rodenwaldt, *JdI*, 51 (1936) 82 ff.

34. See above, p. 91, n. 24.



126. *Portrait of Septimius Severus (193–211)*

Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. 6086. Photo: A. M. McCann

more in keeping with the scale of late Severan coffins; it does not yet show the great increase in height typical of sarcophagi made after the famous Balbinus sarcophagus (fig. 127), dated by the portraits about 238,³⁵ such as the Ludovisi battle sar-

35. Gütschow, 66 ff., pls. 6–9.

127. *Sarcophagus of Balbinus*

Rome, Catacomb of Praetextatus. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 72.482



cophagus (figs. 137–139) of the mid-century.³⁶ In conclusion, I see no reason to re-date the Badminton sarcophagus on the basis of the evidence thus far presented. In the sequence of the Metropolitan's collection, the Badminton coffin would fall then between the Endymion sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4] and the sarcophagus of the Muses and Sirens [Cat. No. 5].

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(1956) 104–105; Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, revs. by G. Hanfmann in *Gnomon*, 31 (1959) 533 ff.; M. Lawrence, *AJA*, 64 (1960) 110 ff.; J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS*, 50 (1960) 264–265, and G. M. A. Richter, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 38 (1960) 609 ff.; K. Scheffold, "La Force créatrice du symbolisme funéraire des romains," *RA* (1961) II, 206–208; D. Strong, 66, 101, fig. 115; Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, 117–118, fig. 128; Panofsky, 34, fig. 107; Reschke, 360 ff., 398, who dates it between 270 and 275; Turcan, 278–280, 298 ff., who dates it between 230 and 240; L. Berczelly, "To Fragmenter av en Marsyas-Sarkofag," *Kunst Kultur* (1973) 40; Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 4, no. 258, pls. 268, 270–273, 279; D. Strong, *Roman Art*, Pelican History of Art (Middlesex, 1976) 123–124, pl. 169; revs. of Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, by M. Lawrence, in *AJA*, 81 (1977) 132–133, who supports Matz's approximate date with new arguments, placing it between 220 and 230, and G. Hanfmann in *ArtB*, 58 (1978) 157–159, who also continues to place it between 220 and 230.



128. *Theseus sarcophagus*

Buckinghamshire, Cliveden. Photo: courtesy of B. Andreae

36. See below, p. 110, n. 7.

18. Fragments of a Battle Sarcophagus

26.60.47a,b

Mid-Antonine, 160–180.

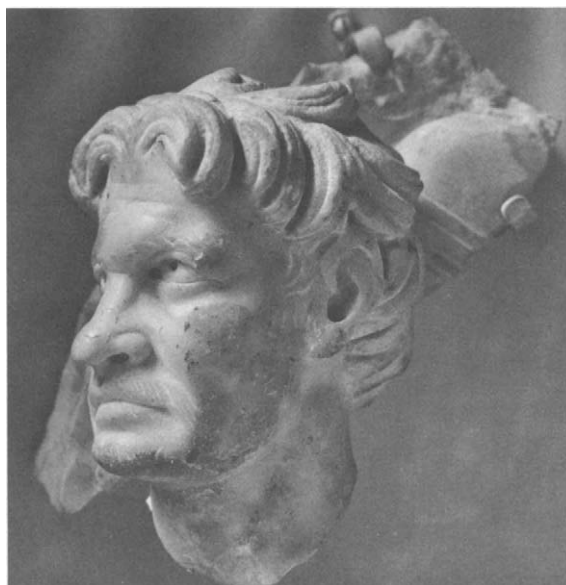
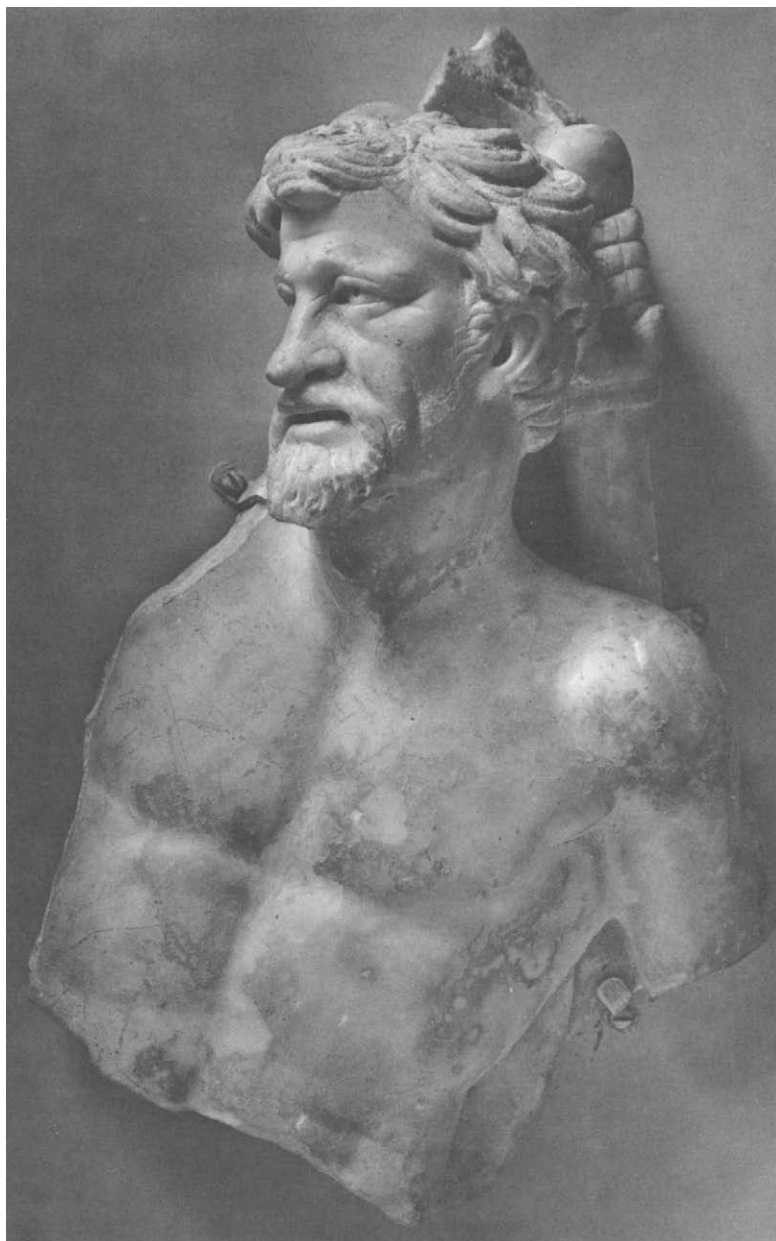
Found in Rome in 1926 with other fragments in the necropolis near the Via Portuense on the Viale Gianicolense. The sarcophagus is now reassembled in the Museo Nuovo in Rome (Inv. 2141) with the exception of our pieces and an additional fragment of a head of a helmeted warrior with part of his round shield emblazoned with a head of Medusa. This last piece was seen on the Roman art market in 1936 and was identified by G. Rodenwaldt as also belonging to the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo. Fletcher Fund.

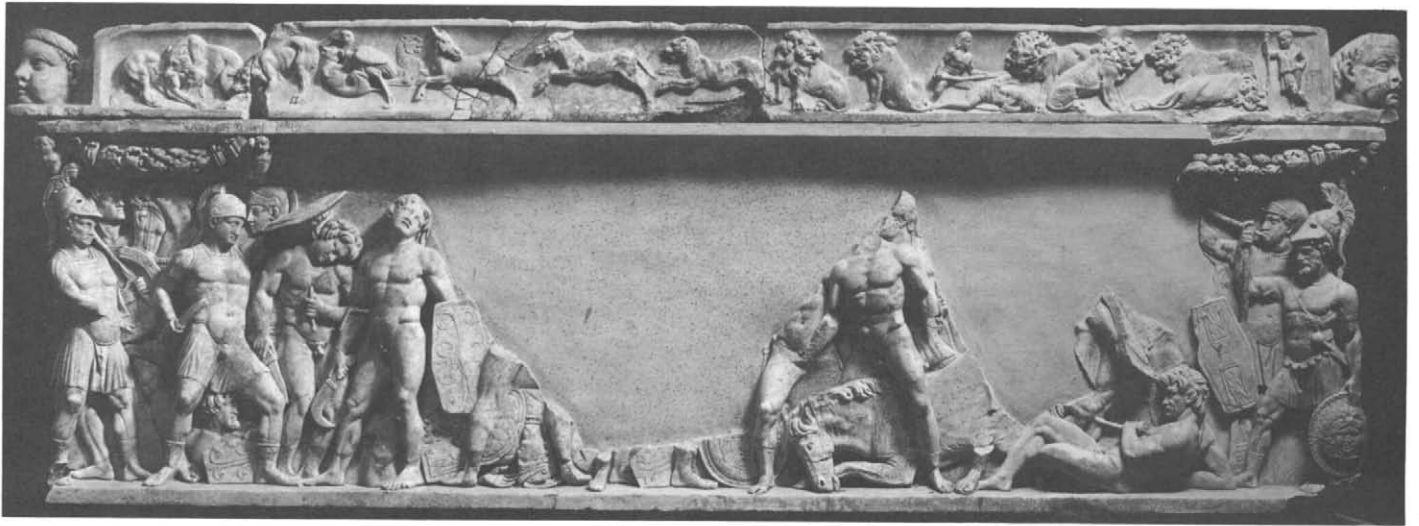
Luni marble. Fragment *a*: max. H. 10½ in. (0.27 m.); max. W. 6 in. (0.50 m.); max. D. 2½ in. (0.07 m.). Fragment *b*: max. H. 4½ in. (0.12 m.); max. W. 4¾ in. (0.12 m.); max. D. 2½ in. (0.07 m.).

129. *Head and torso of a Gaul, fragment a from a battle sarcophagus, Cat. No. 18*

130. *Head of a Gaul, fragment b from a battle sarcophagus, Cat. No. 18*

THE ATTRIBUTION of the two fragments in the Museum's collection (figs. 129, 130) and the one on the Roman art market to the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo in Rome showing the Battle of Gauls and Romans (figs. 131–135) was first made by G. Rodenwaldt. The high quality of the monument can be appreciated from our two pieces. Both heads are firmly modeled, with details such as the furrowed brow, the lines around the eyes, the beard curls, and the mustache carved with the chisel. Single round drill holes accent the pupils, corners of the eyes, nostrils, and upper lips. The drill is used sparingly in the hair to outline the thick plastic clumps. The barbarian facial type is realistically portrayed with its irregular Celtic features, unkempt hair, and lined skin. A feeling of pathos is also conveyed through the parted lips of the longer bearded head (fragment *a*; fig. 129), but the expression is restrained, and the modeling of the torso is fairly flat. The rounded shoulder and sensitive swelling of the neck muscles indicate an artist who was well acquainted with Greek statuary types from which some of the figures used in the composition of the sarcophagus must ultimately derive.





- 131** (*opposite*). *Battle of Romans and Gauls sarcophagus*
Rome, Museo Nuovo, inv. 2141. Photo: German Arch. Inst.
28.80

Fragment *a* shows a bearded head and torso, broken at the waist, of a Gaul facing to his right. His right hand, grasping a sword with a knob handle, is preserved behind his head. The right shoulder and arm are entirely missing, while the left arm is broken off above the elbow. The edge of what appears to be a shield is seen in low relief at his left side. B. Andreae identifies the fragment as belonging to the missing figure who holds an oblong shield emblazoned with a lightning bolt, at the right end of the frontal panel (fig. 131) of the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo.¹ This identification is certain, since the actual pieces do apparently join. Fragment *b* consists of a head with a

1. Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1739 (Andreae).

- 132** (*opposite*), **133** (*right*). *Details of fig. 131*
Photos: German Arch. Inst. 28.82, 35.1820

- 134.** *Left short side of fig. 131*
Photo: German Arch. Inst. 28.78

- 135.** *Right short side of fig. 131*
Photo: German Arch. Inst. 28.79



short beard, broken at the neck and facing to his right (fig. 130). Preserved in lower relief to the right behind his head is part of a rounded form decorated by four parallel strips that cut diagonally across the lower section. Andreae identifies the curved form as part of a Roman helmet and connects the fragment with the nude figure of the barbarian standing astride the fallen horse from the right center of the frontal panel (fig. 131), an identification with which I agree.² In lower relief, just to the right of the chin of the Museum's fragment, part of a rounded form is seen, perhaps a piece of an arm of the adjoining figure. While both the Museum's fragments are discolored and incrustated in places, they are in good condition, and the ancient surface is preserved.

The theme of the battle between the Gauls and Romans was a popular one on Roman sarcophagi from the middle of the second century into the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when mythological battle themes gave way to historical battle scenes in which the deceased was specifically commemorated.³ It should be remembered that this later type also derived from

the Greek world, as illustrated by the famous battle scenes on the Alexander sarcophagus (fig. 1).⁴ The most famous Roman example of the historical battle type in the second century is the sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale found near Portonaccio.⁵ On the frontal panel (fig. 136) a general who must have served in the armies of Marcus Aurelius is honored, and the expressive style of the reliefs may be directly related to that of the famous column of the emperor. The sarcophagus thus must be dated into the last quarter of the second century, and the deep undercutting of the relief (maximum depth of 0.12 m.) illustrates the pictorial trends of this time, which direct us to the style of the Museum's sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4].⁶ These historical battle sarcophagi continue into the third century, and the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale (figs. 137–139) is a key example of the later evolution of the type.⁷ It superbly illustrates the heightened compositional design and centralization of the composition, which are typical of sarcophagi from the mid-third century.

Within this context, the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo

2. *Ibid.*

3. For a study of Antonine battle sarcophagi as a whole, see G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (Copenhagen, 1945) 172–189; for a study of the statuary motifs and their relationship to Greek painting, see B. Andreae, *Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen* (Berlin, 1956).

4. Mendel, I, 18 ff.; F. Winter, *Der Alexandersarkophag von Sidon* (Strassburg, 1912); Havelock, nos. 150–152; Charbonneaux, 237, figs. 248–250; J. Frel, "The Rhodian Workshop of the Alexander Sarcophagus," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 21 (1971) 121 ff.

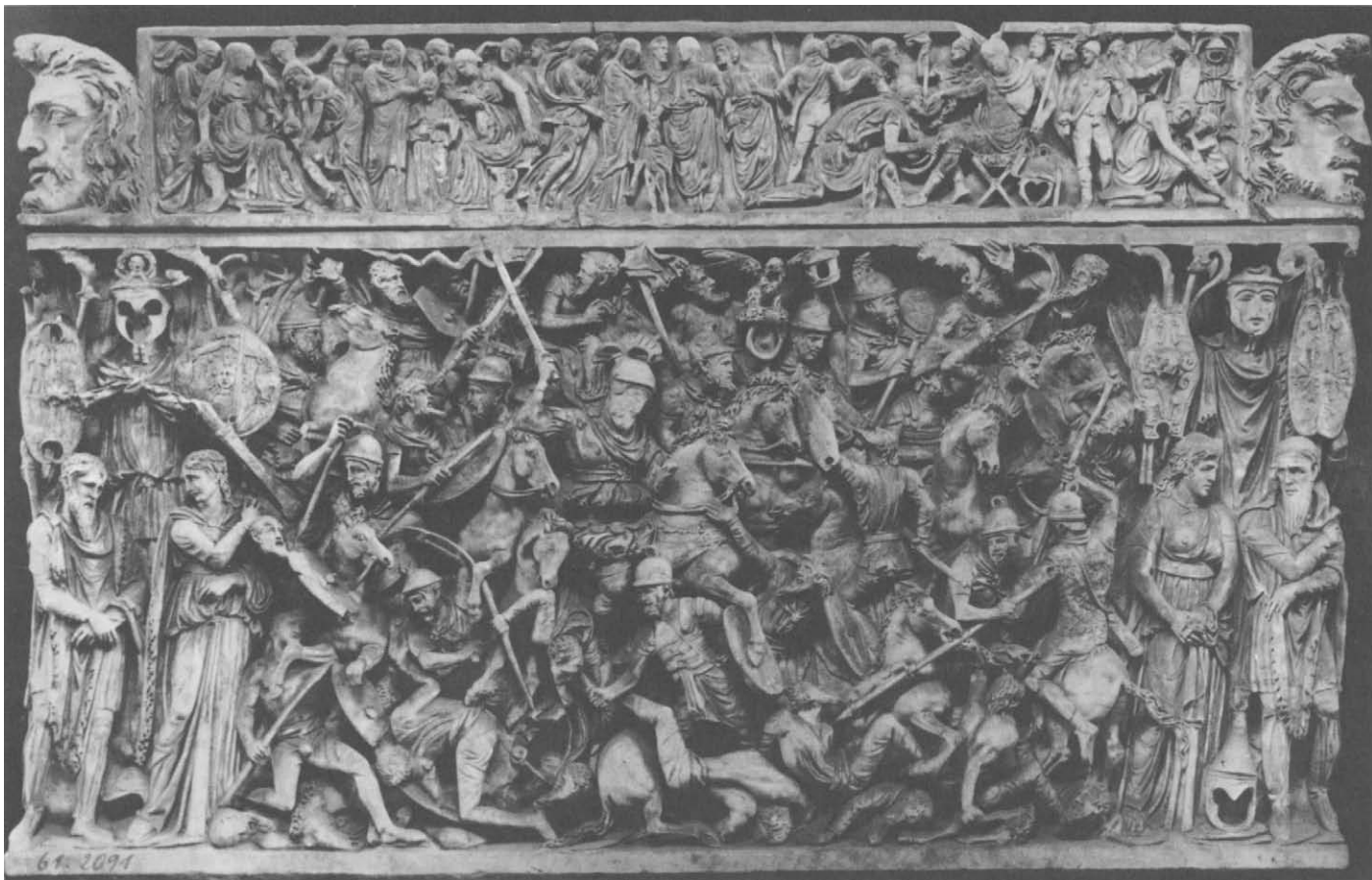
5. Inv. 112327. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, no. 121, with earlier bibliography.

6. Cf., for example, the sarcophagus showing the Judgment of Paris in the Villa Medici; see above, p. 44, n. 11 for bibliography.

7. Inv. 330 (8574). For a discussion of the previous literature, identification of the portrait head, and the date of the famous Ludovisi battle sarcophagus, see H. von Heintze, "Studien zu den Porträts des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *RM*, 64 (1957) 69–91, pl. 13, who identifies the portrait (our fig. 138) with the younger son of Decius, the emperor Hostilianus who died of the plague in 251. Her arguments are largely based on the evidence of the coin portraits. A comparison of the portrait features on the coins with the head on the sarcophagus is striking, and the identification has been accepted by Toynbee in *Art of the Romans*, 102. G. Gullini, however, in *Maestri e botteghe in Roma da Gallieno alla Tetrarchia*, Università di Torino, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, XII, fasc. 2 (Turin, 1960) 12–15, argues for an identification with Hostilianus' older brother, Herennius, who died in battle with his father in Moesia in 251. It should be noted in evaluating the coin evidence that the portraits of the two brothers on the coins are extremely similar, suggesting that the same sculptural model was used for both in the mint, an occurrence that has parallels, for example, in the boy portraits of Caracalla and Geta (see McCann, 75, n. 15). Compare the portraits of Herennius and Hostilianus in R.

Delbrueck, *Die Münzbildnisse von Maximinus bis Carinus*, Das römische Herrscherbild, III, 2 (Berlin, 1940) pl. 10, 17 (sestertius of Herennius) and pl. 10, 20 (sestertius of Hostilianus). One of Heintze's arguments for an identification with Hostilianus is the appearance of the seal, or *sphragis*, of the Persian god Mithras on the forehead of the Roman commander from the sarcophagus and on the forehead of some of the coin portraits of Hostilianus. She also cites the cross on some of the coin portraits of Herennius (*op. cit.*, 373, n. 128; Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pl. 10, 15–16; H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, IV, 3 [London, 1949] pl. 11, 9–15). I cannot verify this evidence from the photographs alone; however, Dr. W. Metcalf of the American Numismatic Society tells me that no crosses can be identified on the coinage of either brother in their collection. In any case, since Hostilianus is not known to have taken part in a battle, and since the representation on the sarcophagus is of a commander who is victorious over death through the power of Mithras, a god so worshiped by the Roman army, an identification with Herennius who as Caesar commanded the army with his father seems the more likely to me. It should be noted, however, that from the ancient sources there is evidence that the bodies of Herennius and Decius may not have been recovered, but this need not preclude a sarcophagus' having been carved for him. See H. M. D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World A.D. 138–337* (London, 1958) 161, n. 56; Zosimus, I, 23; Zonaras, XII, 21, III, p. 136. It may be that we have an unknown general, although both the scale and quality of the sarcophagus suggest that it is an imperial one. Furthermore, the coin evidence combined with the historical situation are in favor of Gullini's identification, giving us one of the few remaining sarcophagi identified with the imperial family. M. Lawrence tells me that she also is in agreement with Gullini, and I wish to thank her for bringing his study to my attention.

The style of the Ludovisi battle sarcophagus fits well with a date of 251, and may be used as evidence that a classicizing revival was not



136. Battle sarcophagus from Portonaccio

Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 112327. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 61.1399

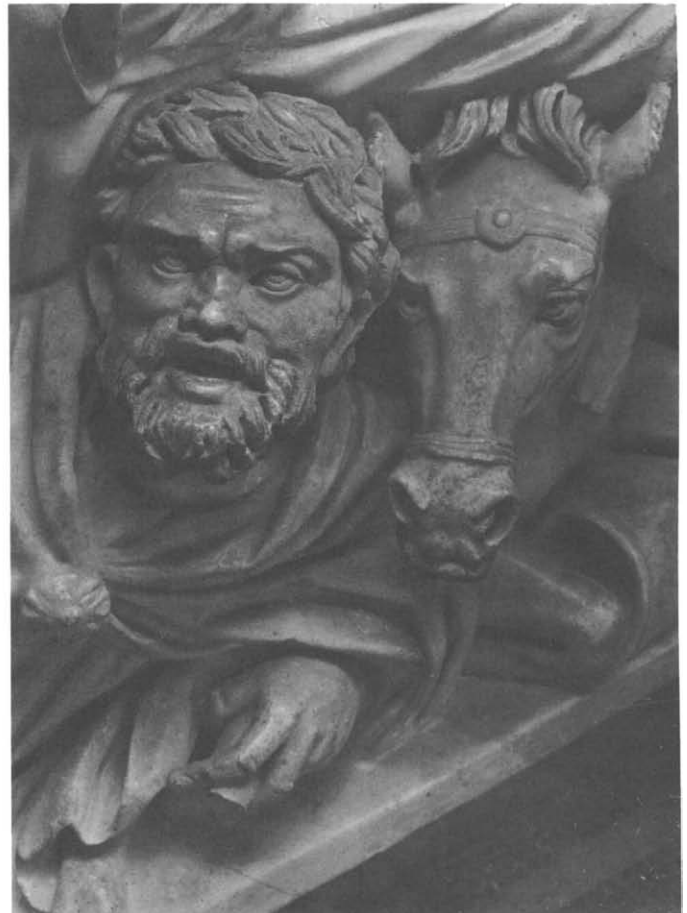
represents an early phase in the evolution of the battle type, in which the theme of heroic struggle and glorification of the hero was still presented within the framework of the Greek mythological tradition. The general theme of the struggle of good over evil, of civilized man over barbarian, has a long history in Greek art and can be further illustrated through the battles of Lapiths and Centaurs, Gods and Giants (fig. 140), and Greeks and Amazons, subjects that all appear on early Roman sarcophagi.⁸ The specific subject of the battle of the

Gauls may be traced directly back to the Hellenistic Pergamene tradition. On the Roman sarcophagi, however, the warriors are no longer Greeks but are clothed in the Roman cuirass, evidence that the Romans now see themselves as the inheritors of the Greek role of the preservers of civilization. The barbarians, in contrast, are still represented as Gauls, but an allusion to contemporary events and the German tribes may have been intended. The long life of the Pergamene statuary types is seen, for example, in the pose of the dying Gaul on the frontal panel

unique to the reign of Gallienus and actually began slightly earlier, in the sarcophagi workshops at least. For further bibliography see Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, nos. 134–135; Turcan, 253, n. 4, and particularly Reschke, 331 ff., 409–410. Reschke suggests a late Gallienic date between 265 and 270, which seems too late on the basis of its style to this writer.

8. For a battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, see, for example, the fine sarcophagus found at Ostia of Proconnesian marble published by M.

F. Squarciapino, "Località Pianobella. Sarcophago con centauromachia," *BdA*, ser. 5 (1968) 1, pp. 35–36, fig. 5. Figure groups used here may be traced directly back to the Parthenon, illustrating the closeness of some of the early sarcophagi to the Greek world. For the battle of the Gods and Giants, see the sarcophagus in the Vatican, Robert, III, 1, nos. 93–96, and D. Strong, no. 86; for the battle of the Greeks and Amazons, see Redlich, with earlier bibliography.



- 137** (*opposite*). *Ludovisi battle sarcophagus*
Rome, Museo Nazionale, inv. 330. Photo: German Arch.
Inst. 58.2011

- 140.** *Battle of Gods and Giants sarcophagus*
Rome, Vatican, inv. 548

of the Alexander mosaic¹⁴ it seems highly likely that many of the motifs that recur on Roman battle sarcophagi derive from this tantalizing, unknown realm. But it should be cautioned from the evidence of our sarcophagus as well as that of others that the Roman artist rarely directly copied the Greek motifs but rather transformed them to fit his own compositional needs and the sarcophagus form. It would seem here, too, in



- 138, 139** (*opposite*). *Details of fig. 137*
Photos: German Arch. Inst. 58.2018, 58.2015

- 141.** *Etruscan funerary urn*
Volterra, Museo Guarnacci. Photo: Alinari 34742

of the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo (fig. 131), who is shown with his legs crossed, leaning on one elbow with a sword driven into his chest. The figure type is a common one, known on other Roman battle sarcophagi⁹ as well as on Etruscan funerary urns (fig. 141).¹⁰ The type ultimately derives from a statue of a dying Gaul from the smaller Attalid group dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis.¹¹ Another statuary type used on the sarcophagus relief that can ultimately be traced back to Greek art is the advancing figure with a sword raised behind his head (fragment *a*; fig. 129). One is reminded of the early fifth-century B.C. statue of Harmodios, one of the Tyrant Slayers.¹² Also the Gaul with only his legs preserved, at the left of center (fig. 131), who fights with his back to the viewer, Andreae relates to a lost Pergamene Hellenistic painting.¹³ The pose is a particularly pictorial one, and from the evidence



9. For example, see the Ammendola sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum, D. Strong, no. 96; Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1215 (Andreae).
10. P. R. von Bienkowski, *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst* (Vienna, 1908) fig. 118.
11. *Ibid.*, figs. 53–55.
12. Richter, *Sculpture*, figs. 613–615.
13. Andreae, *op. cit.*, 54 ff.
14. B. Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaic*, *Opus nobile*, 14 (Bremen, 1959); Havelock, pl. xi; Charbonneaux, 116–118, pls. 115–117.

the formation of battle scenes on sarcophagi that the Romans were the creators rather than copiers of whole lost painting compositions. The process is one of adaptation and transformation of motifs, which may come from either Greek painting or statuary but which are now combined into scenes that in both their form and their content can only be considered Roman.

The sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo differs from other battle sarcophagi in several respects. First, part of the dedicatory inscription remains along the upper left frame of the casket giving us at least the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the deceased. It reads: SEX IULI NE . . . ASIUS. Unfortunately the *cognomen* of Sextus Iulius has not thus far been identified, and by Antonine times the name of the Julian family had become widespread. That the deceased was an important military leader is, in any case, evident from the high artistic quality and originality of his memorial. Unusual to the iconography of the frontal panel is the introduction above the battle scenes of swags of garlands held by putti. While garlands as a subsidiary motif are used on the lids¹⁵ or bases of sarcophagi,¹⁶ their association with a battle scene on the frontal panel of a sarcophagus is unknown to me.¹⁷ Furthermore, the use of boys' heads for

the acroteria appears to be unique. Perhaps putti are meant here, a theme used often on Greek sarcophagi,¹⁸ which suggests that the artist may have come originally from the Greek world to work in a Roman workshop. Finally, the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo does not fit in with the other Gallic battle sarcophagi in either its compositional form or its combination of iconographic motifs. I would agree with Andreae that the iconography taken as a whole has special eschatological significance.¹⁹ The struggle of life is inferred from the battle between civilized man and barbarian on the frontal panel and from the scenes of the hunt on the lid (fig. 131), where a man fights a pride of lions on the right. On the left, a panther chases two asses followed by another panther attacking an ostrich and two dogs biting a bear. Perhaps an animal hunt in the circus is intended, as Andreae suggests. That the struggle of life is fought out victoriously is indicated by the scenes on the side panels where the necessary sacrifice to the gods before battle is shown on the right (fig. 135), and a Victory records the triumph on her shield on the left (fig. 134). Standing before her, a barbarian holds a palm branch, probably indicating his participation in the Roman triumph. The promise is for the soul's triumph over evil and for victory in the afterlife.²⁰

15. For example, see the famous lid of the sarcophagus from Velletri, M. Lawrence, "The Velletri Sarcophagus," *AJA*, 69 (1965) 207–222, pls. 45–54, with earlier bibliography.

16. J. Kiel, "Grabbau mit Unterweltsarkophag aus Ephesos," *JOAI*, 17 (1914) 144, for a date in the reign of Antoninus Pius; L. Curtius, "Redeat Narratio," *MdI*, 4 (1951) 10 ff., pl. 9; M. Bieber, "Roman Men in Greek Himation (*Romani Palliati*): A Contribution to the History of Copying," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 103 (1959) 413, fig. 61; B. Andreae, "Studien zur römischen Grabkunst," *RM Ergänzungsheft*, 9 (1963) pl. 34,1 for a full view.

142. *Triumph of Dionysus sarcophagus*

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 1378. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 33.425

17. For their use on the front of a charming Attic sarcophagus of a child in Ostia, showing a Dionysiac theme, see B. Palma, *Documenti Ostiensi. Il sarcofago attico con tiaso di fanciulli dall'isola sacra* (Ostia, 1974) pl. II, dated in the second century.

They are, furthermore, used directly above a battle scene on the funerary monument of the Julii, St.-Remy-de-Provence, Bianchi Bandinelli, 248, fig. 277. I am grateful to M. Lawrence for these references.

18. For example, G. Rodenwaldt, "Sarcophagi from Xanthos," *JHS*, 53 (1933) 185, fig. 2, Eros sarcophagus in Athens. For the interpretation of the symbolism of the Eros sarcophagi, see *ibid.*, 188, with earlier bibliography.

19. Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1739.

20. For discussion of this theme see Richmond, 28 ff.





143. *Ammendola battle sarcophagus*

Rome, Museo Capitolino, inv. 213. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 55.427

144. *Detail of fig. 143*

Photo: German Arch. Inst. 35.1995

The sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo has been variously dated from the early Antonine period to that of Commodus.²¹ Most recently Andreae has compared the sarcophagus to the famous painted Bacchic sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (fig. 142) and would date both in the decade between 170 and 180,²² connecting our battle sarcophagus with contemporary events and the wars with the German tribes, which began in 167, and particularly after 169.²³ A slightly earlier date for both perhaps between 160 and 170 is offered here on stylistic grounds, and it should be pointed out that Gauls were a popular theme on Hellenistic and Etruscan sarcophagi, and their revival under the Romans need not necessarily be linked to contemporary historical events. In fact, the scene itself argues against it, and the theme would be a suitable one for



21. S. Bocconi, *The Capitoline Collection* (Rome, 1930) 311, dates it early Antonine, while Mustilli places it in the last quarter of the second century, probably into the reign of Commodus, following Pietrogrande, 204, and V. Campelli, "Sarcofago del Museo Mussolini con scene di battaglia," *BullComm*, 63 (1935) 81–90.

22. Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1739. For the sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see *ibid.*, no. 1471, and Matz, *Dionys. Sarkophage*, IV, 2, no. 152, pl. 168.

23. For an account of contemporary historical events, see Parker, *op. cit.*, 18–26.

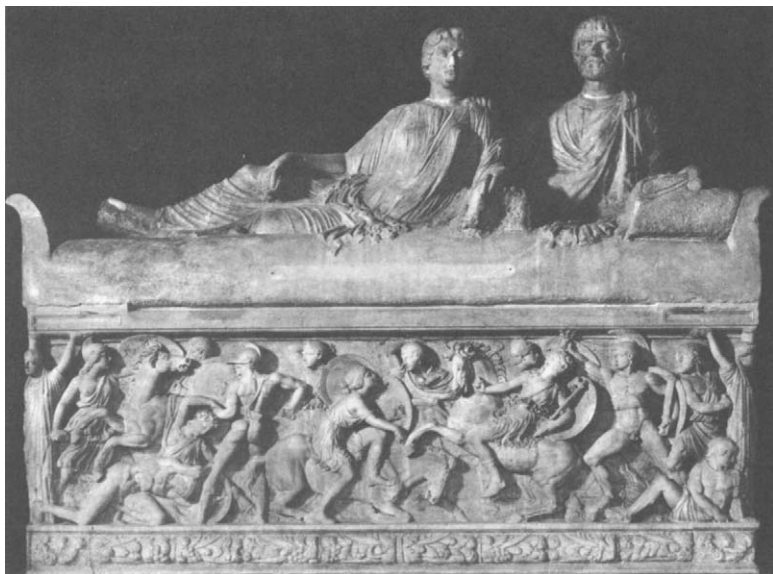
any military leader. Within the battle series, the compositional scheme of the frontal panel of the Museo Nuovo sarcophagus appears early, and the garlands above are also an early motif for sarcophagus decoration. The traditional, long rectangular shape of the coffin is adhered to, and the scene is still simple with fewer figures used than even on the Ammendola sarcophagus, usually cited as the earliest in the Gallic battle series and dated by Andreae around 167 (figs. 143, 144).²⁴ The relief is also fairly shallow, having a maximum depth of 0.09 m., which is close to that of the Ammendola with a depth of 0.10 m.²⁵ Three basic interlocking groups of Romans fighting Gauls make up the frontal panel with single figures framing the corners, also an early feature. The design may be compared with that of a newly discovered sarcophagus from Ostia showing the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, which M. F. Squarciapino would date toward the middle of the second century.²⁶ One may also compare the composition of the Bacchic sarcophagus in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, which L. Budde and R. Nicholls date in the Hadrianic period, but more likely is to be dated into the Antonine.²⁷ This relatively simple compositional scheme of three basic interlocking groups along a single ground line with framing corner figures is similar to that used on two sarcophagi that can be dated from external evidence within the decade between 160 and 170. One is an Attic sarcophagus in the Louvre showing an Amazonomachy. The reclining figures decorating the lid with portrait heads securely date it during this period (fig. 145).²⁸ The other is the Alcestis sarcophagus of C. Iunius Euhodus and Metilia Acte

from Ostia (figs. 146–148), now in the Vatican, and while of only fair quality it may be dated by its inscription into the early years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 161–170.²⁹

A study of the handling of the details of modeling and the sparing use of the drill in the two heads in the Museum's collection corroborates the evidence for an earlier dating of the sarcophagus. The use of the drill is limited to outlining the clumps of hair and for single holes to indicate pupils and nostrils, while the chisel predominates in the beards and sideburns, a combination of drill and chisel that suggests a date before 170. By the last quarter of the second century the drill had become an expressive force that drastically cut away the sculptural form, as seen in the battle sarcophagus from the Portonaccio cited earlier. Even the marriage sarcophagus in Mantua, used by Rodenwaldt in his key discussion of stylistic changes in the Antonine period and dated by him about 170, shows a more developed use of the drill than in our heads (fig. 158).³⁰ The closest comparison for style for the Museum's pieces is again with the sarcophagi cited above and dated in the previous decade. One may specifically compare the drill work and modeling of the figures on the Bacchic sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.³¹ Matz's earlier date of 160–170 rather than Andreae's date of 180 for this piece thus appears more convincing on stylistic grounds, although I must caution that all stylistic dates are relative ones. The Museum's two fine fragments thus have special significance as part of what appears to be the earliest Gallic battle sarcophagus that has come down to us.

145. *Battle of Amazons sarcophagus*

Paris, Louvre. Photo: Alinari 22696



24. Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1215 (Andreae).

25. All measurements have been taken by the writer directly from the monuments.

26. *Op. cit.*, fig. 5.

27. L. Budde and R. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1964) 98 ff., no. 161, pls. 53–55.

28. Redlich, 9–11, no. 69, pl. I. Cf. portraits of Faustina the Younger, M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit, Das römische Herrscherbild*, II, 4 (Berlin, 1939) pl. 35, pp. 48–55.

29. Helbig,⁴ I, no. 291 (Andreae); Toynbee, *Hadr.*, 182 ff., pl. XLII, 1; Lehmann—Olsen, 66–67, fig. 36. Cf. also the sarcophagus with scenes from the childhood of Dionysus in the Walters Art Gallery, *ibid.*, fig. 2, dated 160–170 on stylistic grounds.

30. A. Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova* (Rome, 1931) no. 186, pls. xcv–xcviii; G. Rodenwaldt, “Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 3 (1935) no. 3, pp. 1 ff., pls. 2, 3, 6.

31. Cf. especially the use of the drill in the heads of Dionysus and the satyr, Budde and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, pl. 53.



146. *Alcestis sarcophagus from Ostia*
Rome, Vatican, inv. 1195

147, 148. *Details of fig. 146*



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Curtius, "Zum Gallier Sarkophag im Museo Mussolini," *Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums. F. J. Dölger zum 60. Geburtstag*, Antike und Christentum, I (Münster, 1939) 76–79; Gerke, 245, n. 1; H. Fuhrmann, "Zwei Reliefbilder aus der Geschichte Roms," *MdI*, 2 (1949) 57; B. Andreae, *Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen* (Berlin, 1956) 14, no. 1; Matz, *Röm. Meisterwerk*, 56, 60; Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1739 (Andreae).

19. Sarcophagus with Flying Amorini Holding a Portrait Medallion

56.145

Mid-Severan, reign of Caracalla (211–217).

Gift of Joseph V. Noble.

Proconnesian marble. H. 1 ft. 5¾ in. (0.45 m.); L. 5 ft. 10½ in. (1.79 m.); D. 1 ft. 9 in. (0.53 m.).

ALTHOUGH IN poor condition, the long, rectangular sarcophagus (fig. 149) is complete except for its lid. It is important as an early example of the portrait medallion type flanked by symmetrical figures and the only example of this popular sarcophagus series (see fig. 150) in the Museum's collection. The coffin has been broken in several places and repaired, and the surface is worn. One break occurs from the left corner of the front panel through the left-hand figures of Eros and Psyche to the left-hand amorino's right leg and waist. The break continues through the neck of Earth (Tellus) and through Ocean to the lower right leg of the right-hand amorino, through the right-hand pair of Eros and Psyche. Another crack runs from the top of the coffin through the right-hand figure of Psyche. The left hand of the right-hand amorino, along with a piece of the medallion, has been broken and re-attached as well as the right hand of the left-hand amorino. The lower part of the face of the right-hand amorino has been partially restored in plaster. Chips occur along the edges of the coffin. The back has been left roughly worked with the pick; a break occurs along the upper section, which has been mended with three clamps. Two vertical pins have been drilled into the

surface of the left corners of the coffin. The workmanship is cursory.

The portrait medallion sarcophagus type first came into use in the early third century and probably also served as a model for the flying Season sarcophagus form, which appears slightly later, between the years 220 and 250.¹ The motif continues into Christian art, where the head of Christ or his symbol is substituted in the medallion which is now supported by angels rather than amorini or Seasons (fig. 151).² The main motif of the Museum's frontal panel consists of two flying amorini holding up a portrait bust of the deceased in a medallion, a young, beardless soldier with his *paludamentum* draped over his right shoulder (fig. 152). Beneath the central motif is a kantharos filled with fruit placed between the reclining figures of Earth on the left and Ocean on the right.³ A goat and a *ketos* (sea serpent) are placed at their respective feet. Flanking the two ends and filling the height of the panel the figures of Eros and Psyche are shown embracing in the pose of the familiar Hellenistic statuary group.⁴ Beside them is a laurel tree from which Eros' quiver hangs on the left side, his bow on the right. A basket of fruit is placed at each corner. On the sides of the sarcophagus griffins are roughly carved in lower relief (figs. 153–154), a motif of apotheosis that we have already seen.⁵

1. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 25, 26.

2. For example, see R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Leipzig, 1929) II, pl. 48, no. 48, ivory diptych in the Louvre.

3. For further representations of Ocean and Earth on sarcophagi and their symbolism, see Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, 17–20, no. 49.

4. Bieber, 150, fig. 638.

5. See above, Cat. No. 3, pp. 34 ff. and 35, n. 6.

149. *Sarcophagus with flying amorini holding a portrait medallion*, Cat. No. 19





150. *Sarcophagus with flying amorini holding a portrait medallion*

Rome, S. Agnese. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 70.1060



151. *Early Christian sarcophagus*

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 56.93

The frontal relief is fairly shallow, projecting evenly about 0.03 m. The figures are modeled in three dimensions, but they are stretched out in a symmetrical and decorative pattern with little regard for their structural clarity. The focus is on the centralized composition, a stylistic emphasis that directs us toward the later Badminton sarcophagus. The drill is used in long, running channels in the hair of Eros and Psyche and to accent the pupils of the eyes, with the exception of those of the portrait bust. The drill work and figure style may be compared to that of the early Severan sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4], where the same figures of Eros and Psyche embracing are used. The portrait in the medallion, however, may allow us to date the work more closely.⁶ The tiny drilled ringlets imitate the

6. It is also possible that the portrait head was cut in modern times as has occurred on other sarcophagi of this stock type. Cf. C. Robert, "A Collection of Roman Sarcophagi at Cliveden," *JHS*, 20 (1900) 81–82, pl. vii. The area around the mouth looks particularly re-



152. *Portrait medallion, detail of Cat. No. 19*

worked, although the carving of the hair and head as a whole appears to be ancient and not unlike other cursory portraits made for this sarcophagus type. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum has kindly looked at the sarcophagus with me and shares this opinion.



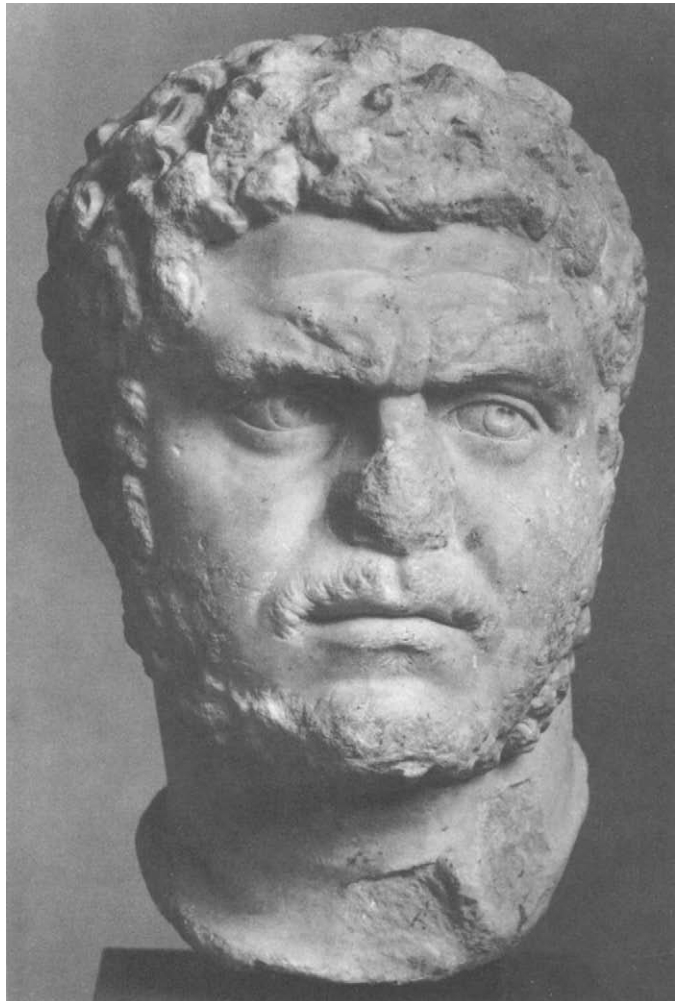
153, 154. Short sides, showing griffins, of Cat. No. 19

155. Portrait of Caracalla (211–217)

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 2028

hair fashion used by the emperor Caracalla, the cruel son of Septimius Severus who ruled from 211 until 217 (fig. 155). The face is unbearded, a practice that began again in Roman portraiture in the later Severan period. Perhaps the sarcophagus was made for a young officer who died in Caracalla's Eastern campaigns.

The figures used in the decoration of the Museum's medalion sarcophagus are all familiar ones.⁷ Their particular interest is their allegorical meaning within a funerary context. The



7. For examples of sarcophagi of similar type and iconography, see the basic article by H. P. L'Orange, "Eros psychophoros et sarcophages romaines," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Antium Historiam Pertinentia*, I (Oslo, 1962) 41 ff. Note particularly the sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo, Genoa, pl. va (incorrectly cited as in Turin), which L'Orange dates about 200. Cf. Bozzo, no. 12, pls. 6–7. Cf. also the sarcophagus in S. Agnese fuori dei muri, Rome, L'Orange, *op. cit.*, pl. via (our fig. 150), dated by L'Orange in the Constantinian period; the child's coffin in the Lateran collection (no. 712), F. Cumont, "Un Sarcophage d'enfant trouvé à Beyrouth," *Syria*, 10 (1929) 231 ff., pl. XLII,2; the sarcophagus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, Poulsen, no. 788, *Billedtavler*, pl. LXVIII, dated in the latter half of the third century; and a Season sarcophagus in the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome, dated by Hanfmann between 265 and 280, "Late Transitional Time," *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 43, no. 455, fig. 54.

A sarcophagus recently found at Formello outside Rome also shares our iconography except that, in place of Eros and Psyche, seated putti frame the scene. I am grateful to Dr. L. Marvasi for

central motif symbolized for the Romans the ascent of the deceased to the heavens.⁸ Ocean and Earth represent the earthly world from which he has ascended. The contents of the kantharos and baskets of fruit may be linked to the general theme of fertility and renewal. Eros and Psyche who, with Dionysus, are among the most frequently used motifs on sarcophagi may also be connected with the hope for a future life. In fact, Eros is sometimes represented holding up the *imago clipeata*, or portrait of the deceased. In this role he has been interpreted convincingly by H. P. L'Orange as Eros *psychophoros*, or the conductor of the soul to the other world.⁹ This meaning is probably also intended on the Museum's sarcophagus, even though Eros is here used as a framing motif to the central medallion group. Psyche, meaning "soul," may be interpreted as a personification of the human soul who endures trials in the earthly life but finally through love attains immortality and eternal life with her beloved Eros.¹⁰ The pair symbolizes the divine

love to which the soul can be elevated with the help of the gods.¹¹ Eros and Psyche do often appear on sarcophagi in pairs, as in our example, and this arrangement must originally have had more than a decorative function. It has also been suggested by E. Petersen that the contrast of earthly life and life in the beyond may be intended by the double image.¹² The cult of Eros was a popular one, and he is often seen with his loved one on the sarcophagi of women as, for example, on our Endymion sarcophagus of Arria [Cat. No. 4] or on the sarcophagi of a husband and wife. In the case of Cat. No. 19, it is the young husband who has died, or, if he died unwed, the motif indicates fulfillment in a union with divine love in the life beyond the grave to which he has been transported by Eros *psychophoros*.

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Unpublished.

bringing this sarcophagus to my attention and for sharing her photographs with me. I also owe her the reference to L'Orange cited above. Dr. Marvasi dates the Formello sarcophagus by the female portrait head into the last quarter of the second century.

8. Panofsky, 36.

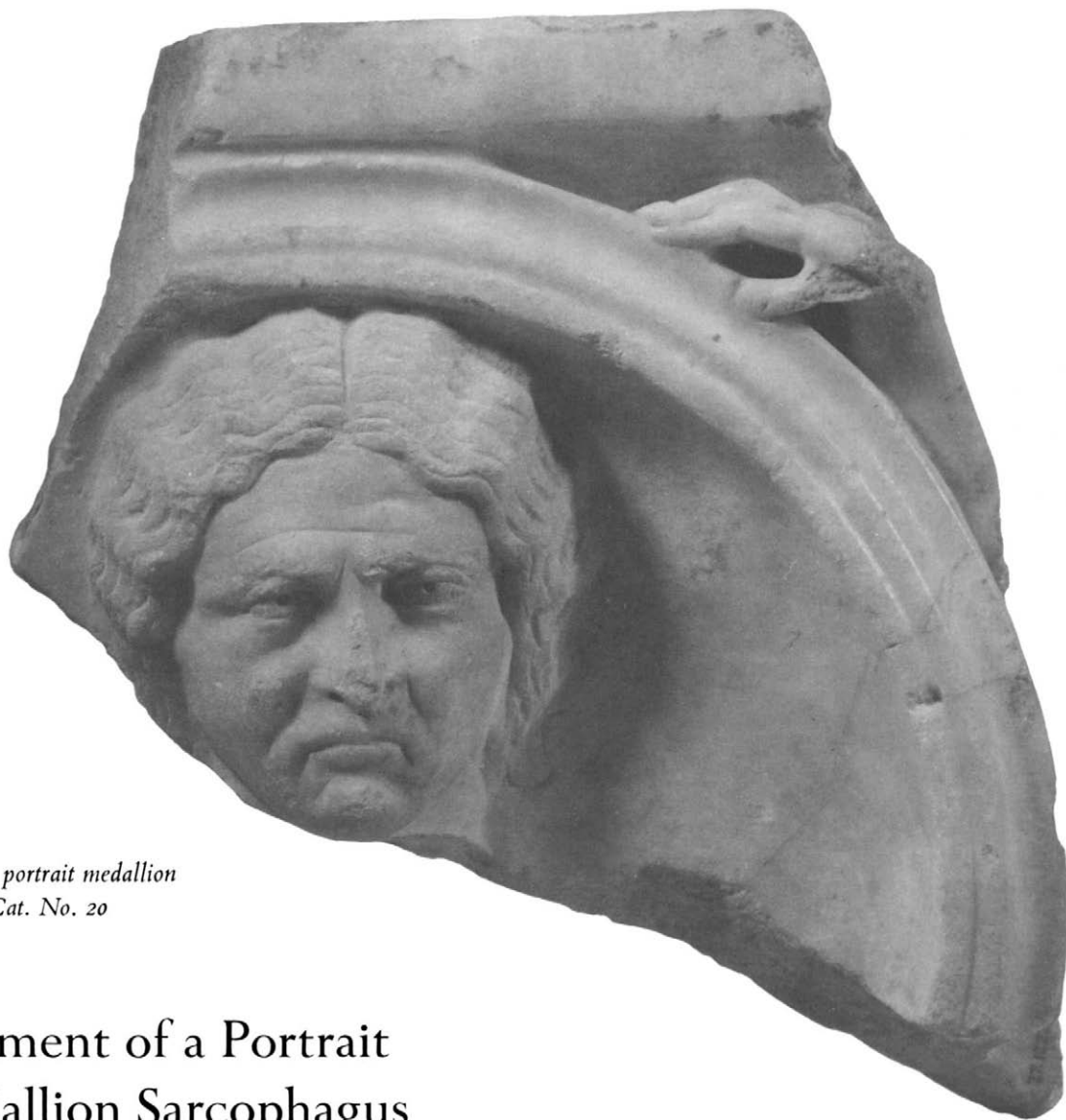
9. L'Orange, *op. cit.*, for discussion of this pertinent symbolism.

10. For the story of Eros and Psyche, see Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, IV, 28-VI, 24; *RE*, VI, "Eros," 484 ff. (Waser); *RE*, "Psyche," 23,²

1434 ff. (R. Helm); *OCD*, 407, 895; G. Binder and R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche* (Darmstadt, 1968).

11. For the meaning of the motif see Collignon, *Essai*; Cumont, *Syria* 10 (1929) 231 ff.; Cumont, 86, 111, 319; H. H. O. Chalk, "Eros and the Lesbian Pastorals of Longos," *JHS*, 80 (1960) 32 ff.; P. Grimal, "Die Bedeutung der Erzählung von Amor und Psyche," in Binder and Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, 1-16.

12. "Eros und Psyche oder Nike," *RM*, 16 (1901) 57 ff., 92.



156. *Fragment of a portrait medallion sarcophagus, Cat. No. 20*

20. Fragment of a Portrait Medallion Sarcophagus

27.122.31

Early Severan, 190–210.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome in 1927. Fletcher Fund.

Greek marble with medium-sized crystals. Max. H. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.21 m.); max. W. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.21 m.); max. D. of relief $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.03 m.).

THE FRAGMENT (fig. 156) belongs to a familiar type of sarcophagus, which uses as its central motif the portrait bust of the deceased set in a medallion flanked by decorative figures such as amorini, Nereids, or Victories [cf. Cat. No. 19]. Preserved in the Museum's example is only the female portrait head with part of the concave molding of the medallion. A hand with graceful, long fingers and part of an arm rest against the right rim. A section of the plain, narrow edge of the upper

trough of the sarcophagus is also preserved. The lower right portion of the medallion has a diagonal crack. The nose, brow, and cheeks of the portrait head are chipped and the marble shows discoloration in places. The carving is finely executed, indicating the high quality of the relief as a whole.

The hair style of the portrait head is similar to that used for the portrait of Arria on the early Severan Endymion sarcophagus in the Museum's collection [Cat. No. 4].¹ This hair style (fig. 41) has already been associated with the earlier portraiture of the empress Julia Domna (fig. 43), wife of Septimius Severus, used on her coins (fig. 42) and portraits in the round from 193 to 209.² The carving of the portrait head in the Mu-

1. See above, pp. 39 ff.

2. See above, p. 43, notes 8, 9, 10.

seum's medallion may be further associated with the stylistic trends of the early Severan period. The drill is used to accent the pupils, while the chisel alone is used to articulate the pattern of the hair as in the earlier portraits of Julia Domna. Expression is given to the face by the indication of a linear furrow across the forehead and the pulling in of the eyebrows. The surface is strongly modeled, and the sagging cheeks indicate an older woman. The miniature portrait conveys a surprising intensity of expression achieved by the deep-set and drilled eyes, rigid mouth, and furrowed brow. This interest in realism, both in the modeling of the surface planes and in the intensity of expression, appears in some of the later portraits of Septimius Severus³ and is especially typical of the portraiture of his son Caracalla.⁴ One may also compare other female private portraits of the period of which the Metropolitan has a particularly excellent example (fig. 44).⁵

While only a fragment of the original monument, the Mu-

seum is fortunate that the portrait head of the deceased remained complete to enrich our appreciation of private portraiture from this changing age. Cat. No. 20 is also one of the earliest examples of the medallion sarcophagus type, which became popular only in the third century.⁶ Who was this older, aristocratic, melancholy lady represented here? Her desire for an afterlife is expressed through her medallion image, originally probably supported by the familiar amorini who raised her above the earth. Perhaps she can yet be identified from among existing Severan private portraits in the round, since the high quality of her portrait on the sarcophagus indicates that she belonged to a family that could afford to commission both a luxury sarcophagus and other private sculpture.

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Alexander, 40–42, fig. 4; Richter, *Roman Portraits*, fig. 91.

3. For example, see McCann, cat. no. 73, pp. 167 ff., pl. LXIX, portrait head in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua.

4. For example, see Wiggers, pl. 16, p. 57, armored bust in Berlin (Inv. 384).

5. Also cf. a head of an unknown woman from Nicomedia in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966) no. 83, pl. LI, 1–2, for the same hair style. For the portrait in the Metropolitan Museum, see Richter, *Roman Portraits*, fig. 88, acc. no. 30.11.11 (our fig. 44).

6. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 25, n. 55, for dating of medallion sarcophagus type.

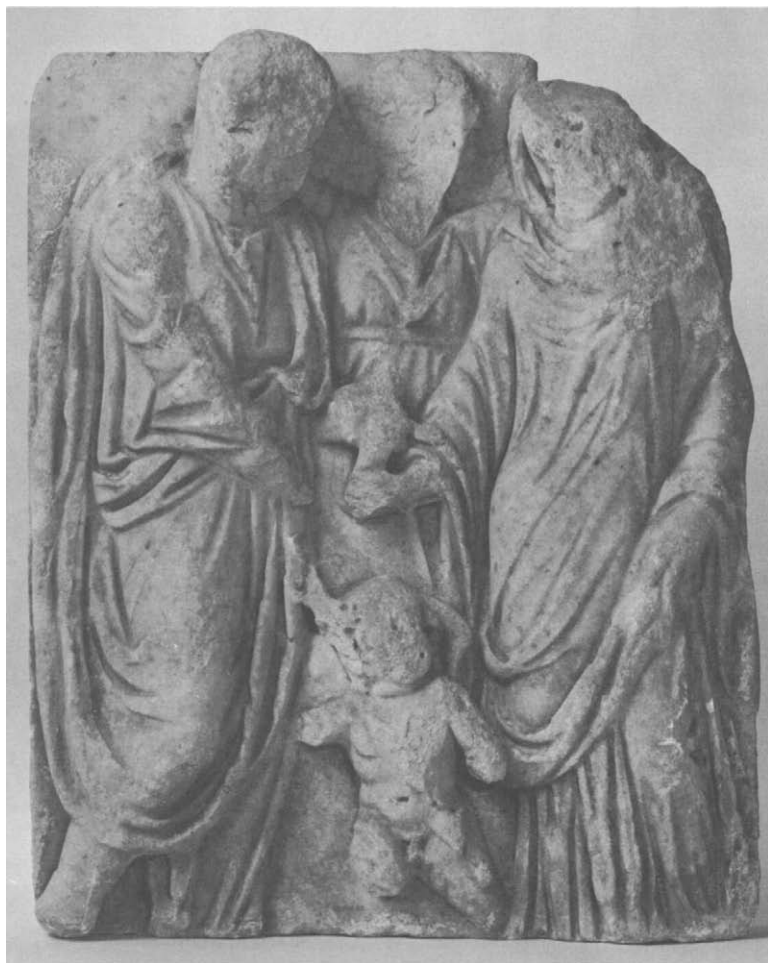
21. Fragment of a Marriage Sarcophagus

18.145.52

Severan, first quarter of the third century.

Said to be from the area of Lavinium. Purchased by John Marshall in Rome. Rogers Fund.

Greek marble, medium-sized crystals. Max. H. 1 ft. 7 in. (0.48 m.); max. W. 1 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.40 m.); max. D. of relief 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0.06 m.).



157. Fragment of a marriage sarcophagus, Cat. No. 21

THE CULMINATING rite of the Roman wedding ceremony in which the bride and groom clasp right hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) as a symbol of their union and concord is represented in this fragment (fig. 157) from the frontal relief of a wedding sarcophagus. The figure between the couple is probably the goddess Concordia, acting in the role of the *pronuba*, the at-

tendant to the bride who unites the bride and groom by placing her arms across their shoulders.¹ Below her and between the two figures, Eros as Hymenaeus, the god of marriage, stands with his legs apart and his head turned to his left. Remains of his torch are visible, cutting diagonally across his nude torso from his right shoulder to his left thigh. The bridegroom is dressed in a long tunic and toga, and part of the *tabulae nuptiales*, the wedding contract, is still preserved in his left hand. The veiled bride wears a long chiton covered by a mantle. The portrait heads of both husband and wife are missing as is the face of the goddess between them. Both right hands of the couple are lacking, and the left shoulder of the bride has been damaged. The face of Eros is badly worn, and his right arm from the shoulder and his left arm from the elbow are broken away. The feet of all the figures must have been removed when the rectangular panel was cut away from the rest of the relief. Three modern screws have been inserted into the back of the marble, and traces of concrete are still visible along the edges of the rectangular frame, indicating that the fragment must once have been mounted for display. The completeness of the compositional group as well as its symbolic content would have lent itself to such re-use as a separate monument. The surface of the marble is discolored and chipped, with the edges of the drapery folds damaged.

The Museum's fragment is largely of interest for its iconography. It belongs to a particular group of sarcophagi that illustrate the life and manners of the deceased. In the early frieze sarcophagi of this series, which begins around the middle of the second century, the scene of the *dextrarum iunctio* is included with representations of sacrifice and the granting of mercy to captive barbarians after victorious battle.² G. Rodenwaldt convincingly interpreted these scenes, which are re-

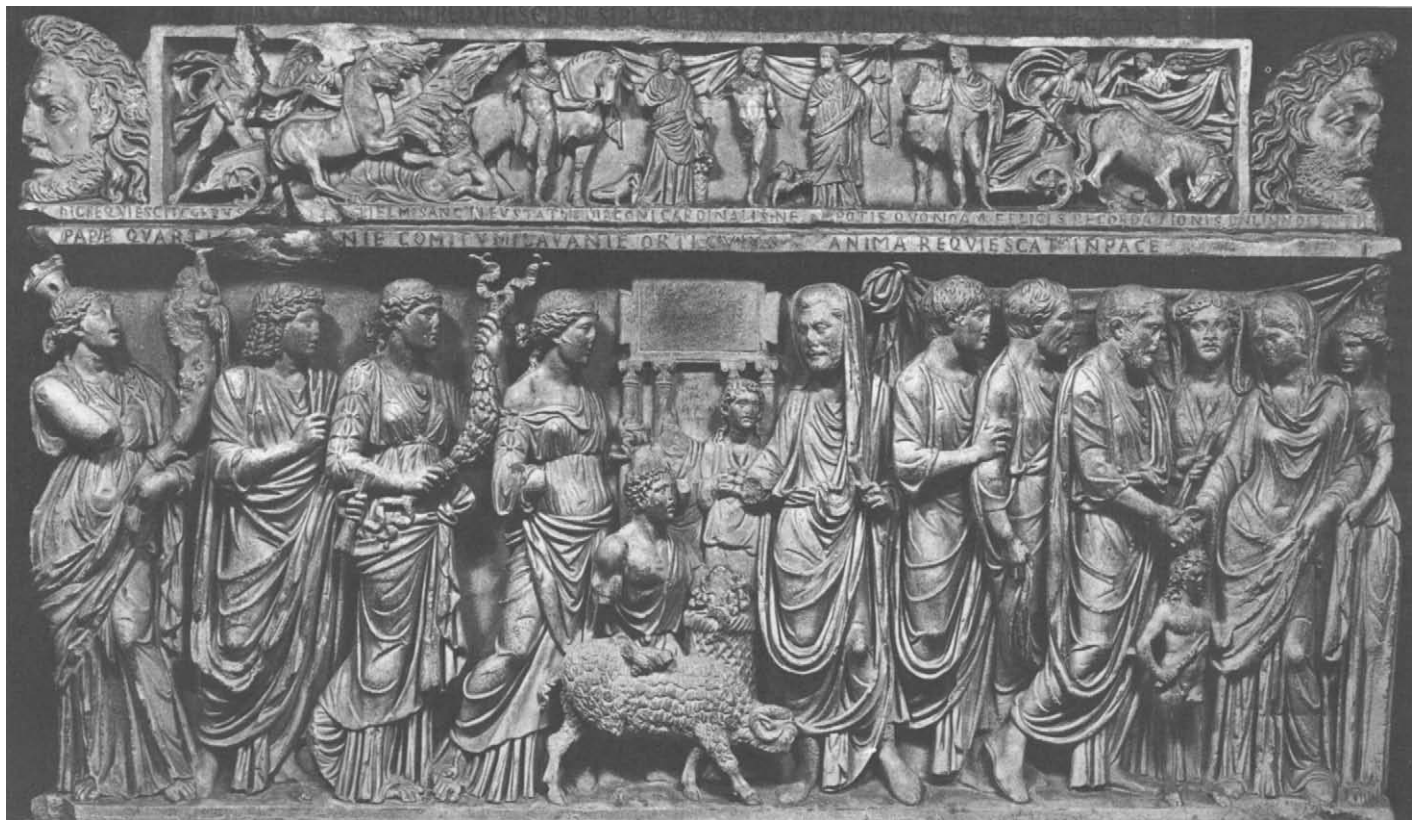
1. This figure has also been identified as *Juno Pronuba*; see S. Weinstock, "Pronuba," *RE*, XXIII, 1 (1957) cols. 750–756. The arguments for an identification with Concordia are put forth by G. Rodenwaldt, "Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 3 (1935) 14 ff., and most recently by L. Reekmans, "La *dextrarum iunctio*," *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome*, 31 (1958) 32 ff. The arguments for an identification with Concordia seem to me the most convincing, and such an identification goes most closely with the coin evidence discussed below.

2. For the most recent and complete study of the wedding series see Reekmans, *op. cit.*, with earlier bibliography. Of special interest is A. Rossbach's still basic study, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmalerei* (Leipzig, 1871); Ryberg, 163 ff., pls. LVIII–LIX; E. Feinblatt, "Un sar-



158 (above). *Marriage sarcophagus*
Mantua, Palazzo Ducale. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 62.126

159. *Marriage sarcophagus*
Rome, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 57.320



cofago romano inedito nel Museo di Los Angeles," *BdA*, 37 (1952) 193 ff.; G. von Lücken, "Zu römischen Hochzeitssarkophagen," *Das Altertum*, 2 (1956) 28 ff.; N. Himmelmann, *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, (Mainz, 1973) 1 ff., pls. 8, 9.

As an adaptation of the type in glass relief, a small colored plaque in the Metropolitan Museum has been cited, acc. no. 17.194.365,

Ryberg, 166, n. 11. The antiquity of this piece was questioned first by E. Simon, *Die Portlandvase* (Mainz, 1957) 80; see G. M. A. Richter, rev. in *AJA*, 67 (1958) 451. The Museum's plaque is clearly a copy of the left end of the smaller marble wedding sarcophagus in the Vatican, Ryberg, fig. 94, pl. LIX, and Helbig,⁴ I, no. 72. A. Oliver, Jr., suggests a date in the nineteenth century for the glass plaque, which would agree with the date of the discovery of the sarcophagus.



160. *Marriage sarcophagus*
Tipasa (Algeria), Archaeological Park. Photo: German Arch.
Inst. 75.477

161. *Marriage sarcophagus*
Ostia, Isola Sacra. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 69.843



162. *Detail of fig. 161*
Photo: German Arch. Inst. 69.845



peated throughout, as symbolic allusions to the virtues of the deceased rather than narrative illustrations of specific events.³ In this context, the scene of *dextrarum iunctio* would symbolize *concordia*; the scene of sacrifice, *pietas*; the granting of clemency, *clementia*; and the vanquishing of the enemy, *virtus*. The marriage scene in these frieze sarcophagi of the second century usually appears at the end of the sequence on the far right

3. Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, 1 ff.

(figs. 158, 159).⁴ When the scene appears in association with a myth, as in the story of Jason and Medea, it usually begins the sequence on the far left.⁵ In the third century, the scene of *dextrarum iunctio* became the centralizing motif on frieze sarcophagi, and the couple became surrounded by allegorical figures⁶ or those associated either with a military⁷ or an intellectual life.⁸ Also in the third century, the motif became popular as the central focus on both columnar and strigil sarcophagi (figs. 160–162).⁹ Removed from a narrative context, the married couple are often shown with the Dioscuri, the Seasons, or Tellus (Earth) and Ocean. In this relationship with the immortal heroes and cosmic deities, F. Cumont has interpreted the *dextrarum iunctio* scene as a symbol of the eternal union of the couple in the afterlife.¹⁰ The removal of the ritual drama

from reality and its transformation into a symbol of immortality follow the trends in Roman funerary art of the third century traced in this study in other examples.

The motif of the *dextrarum iunctio* appears in Greek fourth-century funerary art,¹¹ where it has been interpreted both as a gesture of farewell and as a symbol of a union in this life and in the beyond. The gesture had previously been known on Greek treaty reliefs, where the agreement of the two parties is symbolized by the handshake.¹² In a marriage context, the motif appears first on an Etruscan late fourth-century B.C. wedding sarcophagus from Vulci in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 163).¹³ The motif remains essentially unchanged throughout its development, which may be further traced on Roman Republican and early imperial cinerary urns and altars,¹⁴ and

4. For example, see the sarcophagus in Mantua (our fig. 158), the best preserved in the series, also illustrated in Ryberg, pl. LVIII, or the sarcophagus in the Los Angeles County Museum, which E. Feinblatt dates between 161 and 170 and considers the earliest known example in the series, *op. cit.*

5. For example, see the Medea sarcophagus in the Vatican, Robert, II, no. 194, pl. LXII; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, no. 473, pl. LXXXI.

6. For example, see the sarcophagus with Annona, goddess of the corn supply, in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome, illustrated in Reekmans, *op. cit.*, fig. 13, and D. Strong, pl. 127.

7. For example, see the famous sarcophagus of Balbinus, D. Strong, pl. 121; Reekmans, *op. cit.*, fig. 12; Gütschow, 66 ff., pls. 6–9.

8. For example, see the sarcophagus of the two brothers in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, Reekmans, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

9. See M. Lawrence, "Season Sarcophagi of the Architectural Type," *AJA*, 62 (1958) 287 and n. 84; *idem*, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," *ArtB*, 14 (1932) nos. 1, 2, 3, 12, 13, 34, 37, 47, 49. Also Reekmans, *op. cit.*, index to monuments, 94–95.

10. Cumont, 87.

11. K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period* (Copenhagen, 1951) 54–60.

For a study of the use and meaning of *dextrarum iunctio* in Roman art as a whole, see R. Brilliant, "Gesture and Rank in Roman Art," *Memoirs Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 14 (1963) 18–21, with further bibliography.

12. For example, see Johansen, *op. cit.*, 149–151, fig. 76; also R. Binneboessel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1932) 8 ff.; P. Foucard, "Comptes des trésoriers," *BCH*, 2 (1878) 37–40, pl. 10.

13. R. Herbig, *Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage* (Berlin, 1952) 13–14, no. 5, pl. 40; M. B. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976) no. 384, with full bibliography.

14. See Reekmans, *op. cit.*, index of monuments, 92 ff.

163. Etruscan wedding sarcophagus from Vulci
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1975.799





164. *Wedding scene with dextrarum iunctio, base of glass bowl with gold leaf. Early Christian*
MMA, Rogers Fund, 15.168



165. *Diva Faustina I, denarius, after 141*
New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo: A. M. McCann

on coins of the second through the fourth centuries¹⁵ as well as on sarcophagi. This ancient Etruscan and Roman marriage rite was directly taken over by the Christian Church with few changes and may be seen in Christian art of the fourth century and later (fig. 164).¹⁶ Indeed, the clasping of hands between the betrothed pair continues today to be a central part of many Christian wedding ceremonies.

There is good evidence that the inspiration for the use of the *dextrarum iunctio* scene on Roman wedding sarcophagi derives from a lost monumental state relief or imperial statuary group.¹⁷ The motif first appears denoting the harmony of the imperial couple on a coin of Matidia, the mother of Sabina. On the reverse of a sestertius dated between 113 and 117, Hadrian and Sabina are shown clasping hands with Concordia

between them.¹⁸ On a denarius of Sabina (127–137) the motif is again used with the married pair alone and the legend *CONCORDIAE*.¹⁹ An inscription from Ostia further reveals that under Antoninus Pius there was a decree that married couples must sacrifice in front of the statues of the emperor and his wife, Faustina I, in the Temple of Venus and Roma.²⁰ This ceremony is represented on the coinage of 140–143, where Antoninus Pius and Faustina I are represented in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose with a smaller couple below them, clasping hands over an altar.²¹ *CONCORDIAE* appears in the legend. The motif is also used on the coinage of Diva Faustina I, after 141 (fig. 165). On the coins of Marcus Aurelius dated between 145 and 160 the same motif is used for the imperial couple with an accompanying legend, *VOTA PUBLICA*, which must refer to

15. *Ibid.*, and evidence discussed here.

16. *Ibid.*, 95, with earlier bibliography. Note especially O. Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler* (Strassburg, 1901); G. Bovini, "Le scene della *Dextrarum Iunctio* nell'arte cristiana," *BullComm*, 72 (1946–1948) 103 ff.; E. Kantorowicz, "Marriage Belt and Rings at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 114 (1960) 4 ff. See also F. W. Deichmann *et al.*, I, nos. 86, pl. 25; 678, pl. 107; 688, pl. 109; 853, pl. 137; 918, pl. 145.

For an example of the motif in Early Christian art in the Metropolitan, see the bottom of a glass bowl with gold leaf (our fig. 164), Reekmans, *op. cit.*, fig. 34. Here a crown replaces the figure of Concordia, symbolizing the crowning of the couple by Christ. In other examples the figure of Christ himself is placed between the marriage pair; see *ibid.*, fig. 37, a medallion from a gold chain in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.

17. See arguments of Ryberg, 164 ff., as well as the evidence discussed here.

18. Mattingly, *BMC*, III, p. 562, n. for p. 231; *Münzhandlung Basel*, 5 March, 1935, lot 447. Reekmans, *op. cit.*, 33, interprets the center figure as Concordia, rather than Matidia, an identification that also seems most likely to this writer.

19. Mattingly, *BMC*, III, p. 358, note.

20. *CIL*, XIV, *Supplementum Ostiense*, ed. L. Wickert (Berlin, 1930) no. 5326; Reekmans, *op. cit.*, 35. Cassius Dio, LXXII, 31,1. See comments on text by A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *RM*, 49 (1934) 61, n. 3; *idem*, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *RM*, 50 (1935) 96.

21. Mattingly, *BMC*, IV, no. 1236, p. 198.

their marriage in 145.²² The type continues in use on Roman coinage of the third and fourth centuries. Undoubtedly, the use of this imagery was part of the imperial propagandistic program to strengthen the worship of the imperial cult at a time when it was increasingly threatened by the growth of other religions.

The Museum's fragment shows the couple turned toward each other in a three-quarter position, the male figure on the left. While the workmanship is cursory, the bodily forms are still revealed beneath the enveloping drapery. The small body of Eros is also modeled with a feeling for the chubby, rounded form. These stylistic features suggest a date for the original sarcophagus in the late Antonine or early Severan periods. Furthermore, the damaged male head still reveals the rough outlines of a beard, and a low curl is visible along the preserved neckline of the female figure. This style of hair dress agrees with an early Severan date.

From the preserved fragment alone, it is not possible to draw definite conclusions as to the type of wedding sarcophagus to which the Museum's group originally belonged. All one can say is that the relatively small scale of the figures suggests that it was not a frieze sarcophagus of the narrative type.

Moreover, the frontal position of Eros and the lack of the *parapetasma* most closely associate our group with either an architectural or a strigil sarcophagus type. The figures themselves appear especially close in both their style and their iconography to a wedding group on a columnar sarcophagus found at Tipasa, dated by M. Lawrence in the first half of the third century and identified as a Western adaptation of the Eastern columnar type (fig. 160).²³ The sarcophagus from Tipasa shows the *dextrarum iunctio* scene in a four-arched composition, placed to the right of center with a sacrifice scene on the left and the Dioscuri under the end arches.

The Museum's *dextrarum iunctio* group thus appears to be one of the earlier examples of the transformation of the virtue of *concordia* into its new eschatological context in Roman funerary art of the third century. The fragment derives further significance as a humble reflection of a lost imperial monument in which the moral ideals of the rulers were held up as a model of that perfect harmony to which every Roman husband and wife might aspire.

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22. *Ibid.*, pl. 43,14, p. 292, no. 180.

23. Lawrence, *ArtB*, 14 (1932) no. 47, fig. 58; S. Gsell, "Tipasa," *Mél-Rome*, 14 (1894) 431 ff., pl. VI, dates the work slightly earlier, at the end of the second century or beginning of the third.

One may also compare the *dextrarum iunctio* group on a frieze sarcophagus from the necropolis in the Isola Sacra, Ostia, G. Calza, *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940) 195 ff., pls. 99–100, dated by Calza between 180 and 200 (our figs. 161, 162). The figure style is similar, although slightly earlier, and the placement of the couple under a single arch in the center of a garland frieze provides a further possible compositional parallel.

B. Andreae suggests a date before 210 for the Museum's fragment.

22. Fragment of a Poet-Philosopher Sarcophagus of the Sidamara type 18.108

Mid-third century, 250–260.

From Asia Minor. Rogers Fund. In the Medieval Department.

Phrygian marble. Max. H. 2 ft. 3½ in. (0.70 m.); max. W. 1 ft. 8½ in. (0.52 m.).



166. Fragment of a poet-philosopher sarcophagus, Cat. No. 22

THE SINGLE fragment (fig. 166) formed the frontal central bay, and a small piece of the upper section of the bay to the right, of a columnar sarcophagus from Asia Minor. It belongs to the Sidamara class,¹ and originally had five arcades. A seated, bearded, male figure clothed in a chiton and himation

is shown in profile holding an opened scroll in his left hand. He sits on a stool with lion legs² in an arcade supported by spiral columns. A scallop-shell design fills the space above and between the columns.³ The surface is worn, and the workmanship is cursory. Three holes are drilled into the edges of the fragment, one behind the lower part of the column on the left and two on the right below the scallop shell to the right of the central bay.

The sarcophagus is of particular interest within the collection as the single example of the Asiatic Sidamara type, which begins at the end of the second century and lasts through the middle of the third.⁴ Over fifty examples of this group are

1. Morey, 46, fig. 81. Morey places our fragment into his subgroup "C" with five arches and dates it about 250. M. Lawrence, "Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi," *MAAR*, 20 (1951) 116 ff.; G. Ferrari, *Il commercio dei sarcofagi asiatici* (Rome, 1966) 64, 83–84.

Wegner, no. 60, pl. 86c, suggests the connection of our fragment with his Muse sarcophagi series, comparing the Muse sarcophagus in London, no. 44, pl. 15. While the association is possible, the Sidamara and Selefkeh sarcophagi in Istanbul, which are closest to our fragment, do not belong to the Muse series. It thus seems more likely that the sarcophagus to which our fragment originally belonged rather shared additional features of their iconography. Mendel and Morey both suggest that the seated figure in the Sidamara sarcophagus is meant to represent the deceased and the figure to his right, his wife (see below, n. 7). Cf. V. Ostioia, *The Middle Ages: Treasures from the Cloisters and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Los Angeles, 1969) no. 1, who identifies this figure on the Sidamara sarcophagus as Thalia, the Muse of comedy, but the proper attributes are lacking for this identification.

2. The type of stool appears closest to Greek folding stools; for example, see Richter, *Furniture*, 45, fig. 250.

3. The scallop-shell design is an Asia Minor motif, which appears on the Sidamara sarcophagi in the second quarter of the third century. See E. Weigand, "Die Nische mit Muschelkuppel," *JdI*, 29 (1914) 63 ff.; Morey, 71, 93.

4. For the latest study on the chronology, see Ferrari, *op. cit.*, and rev. by M. Lawrence, *AJA*, 72 (1968) 102.

The name "Sidamara" derives from the sarcophagus in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul that was found on the ancient site of Sidamara in Cappadocia, Asia Minor. The columnar form in general has its ultimate origins in Greek fourth-century sarcophagi, such as that of the Mourning Women from Sidon, Richter, *Sculpture*, fig. 332.



known,⁵ and probably they were produced by a traveling atelier that had its headquarters in the north of Asia Minor.⁶ The figure in the Museum's fragment is a replica of the central figure on the sarcophagi from Selefkeh and Sidamara in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (fig. 167).⁷ The form derives from an earlier compositional group of a poet with his Muse, which continued to be used on Christian sarcophagi as a teacher or author portrait type (fig. 168).⁸ The Museum's fragment, however, clearly belongs with the pagan series and may represent a philosopher rather than a poet. Through the theme the intellectual life is praised, in keeping with later Roman philosophical trends, and may be seen as a preparation for a happy future life. The choice of subjects reflects the changing religious thought of the times, which increasingly seeks expression outside the confines of traditional Greek mythology. The divided arcaded compositional design is also one that will be especially well suited to Christian iconography,

167. Sidamara sarcophagus

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Photo: German Arch. Inst., Istanbul, 6711

with its emphasis on hierarchic order, for the central figure need only be replaced by Christ and the figures in the side *aediculae* with his apostles to indicate on Christian sarcophagi the same promise of a risen life (fig. 169).⁹

5. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, 103–104.

6. Morey, 78.

7. *Ibid.*, 39 ff., figs. 61–64 (Selefkeh); 40 ff., figs. 65–67 (Sidamara); Mendel, I, 288–316, no. 112 (Sidamara); 88–95, no. 19 (Selefkeh).

8. Morey, 64, type 13.

For reference to its Christian use, see Ostioia, *op. cit.*, 16–17, no. 1.

9. For example, see Wilpert, I, pls. XII,4; XXIX,1,2; Deichmann *et al.*, no. 680, pp. 279 ff., pls. 104, 105, sarcophagus of Junius Bassus in the Vatican; no. 678, pp. 277 ff., pl. 107, sarcophagus of "Probus," Vatican.



168.

*Early Christian
strigil sarcophagus*

Rome, Museo
Nazionale. Photo:
German Arch. Inst.
38.770



169.

*Early Christian
sarcophagus, Christ
and the Apostles*

Rome, Lateran.
Photo: Vatican

The Museum's fragment is a relatively late example in the Sidamara series and must date near the middle of the third century on the basis of the drill work and its cursory style. The deeply drilled hair and beard, however, indicate an original model for the head in the late Antonine or early Severan period.¹⁰ The Sidamara sarcophagus type was copied in the West, probably being produced by Asiatic sculptors who migrated to Italy.¹¹ Cat. No. 22, however, has the characteristics of Eastern craftsmanship, although it is a poor and late example, as can be seen in the hinging of the scallop-shell design at the base and particularly in the deep undercutting of the foliage of the capitals and spandrels with the drill to create coloristic effects. The acanthus leaves are flattened and ar-

ranged in a single plane without overlapping, in contrast to the Roman forms, which tend to stress greater plasticity and order.¹² This disintegration of naturalistic forms into flattened and decorative designs, already apparent in the Metropolitan's Sidamara fragment, leads us to the stylistic trends of later antique art.

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10. For example, McCann, pl. xxiv, an early portrait of Septimius Severus in the Museo Nuovo, Rome.

11. Morey, 56 ff.; M. Lawrence, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," *ArtB*, 14 (1932) 103 ff.

12. Morey, 71-78.

23. Front of a Child's Season Sarcophagus of the Asiatic columnar type

18.145.51

Late Antique, 290–300.

Purchased by John Marshall in Rome in 1918. Rogers Fund.

Proconnesian marble. H. 1 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.43 m.); L. 3 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.15 m.); max. D. of relief 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.03 m.).

REMAINING from a small Season sarcophagus of the columnar type is the complete frontal panel (fig. 170). It is broken into two pieces, which join at the top to the left of center, with a modern, roughly triangular, section restored in marble between. This section comprises the base and feet of the second Season from the left (Summer), his animal, part of the third column from the left, the standing nude youth with the basket of fruit on his head to the left of the central portal design, and most of the column on the left side of the portal with its base. The lower, left corner of the modern restoration has been broken and reattached. A modern chip has occurred along the upper edge of the trough to the right of the second arcade from the left. The lower rim of the sarcophagus has been sliced off along the bottom edge, and dowel holes were drilled along the lower and upper rims to mount the little panel

sometime after it was detached from the rest of the sarcophagus. The surface is worn and discolored in places, and the sarcophagus is of coarse workmanship.

The panel belongs to a known group of Roman architectural sarcophagi with arcades and columns that derive from the Asiatic columnar type (fig. 167),¹ also illustrated in the Museum's collection by a fragment of a Sidamara sarcophagus [Cat. No. 22]. This popular Asiatic type goes back to the second century and continues through the third. It also is used in Early Christian art, although the frieze rather than the arcaded form is the most frequent.² The Asiatic columnar sarcophagus type was copied in the Latin West by the end of the second century, with some changes that can be distinguished even in

1. Morey; M. Lawrence, "Additional Asiatic Sarcophagi," *MAAR*, 20 (1951) 116 ff.

2. For some examples see Deichmann *et al.*, pl. 16, no. 49; pl. 17, nos. 51, 52; pl. 18, nos. 53–57; pl. 19, nos. 58–60; pl. 46, nos. 189, 193; pl. 48, no. 208; pls. 104–105, no. 680; pl. 106, no. 676; pl. 107, nos. 678, 679; pl. 145, no. 918.

170. *Front of a child's Season sarcophagus, Cat. No. 23*



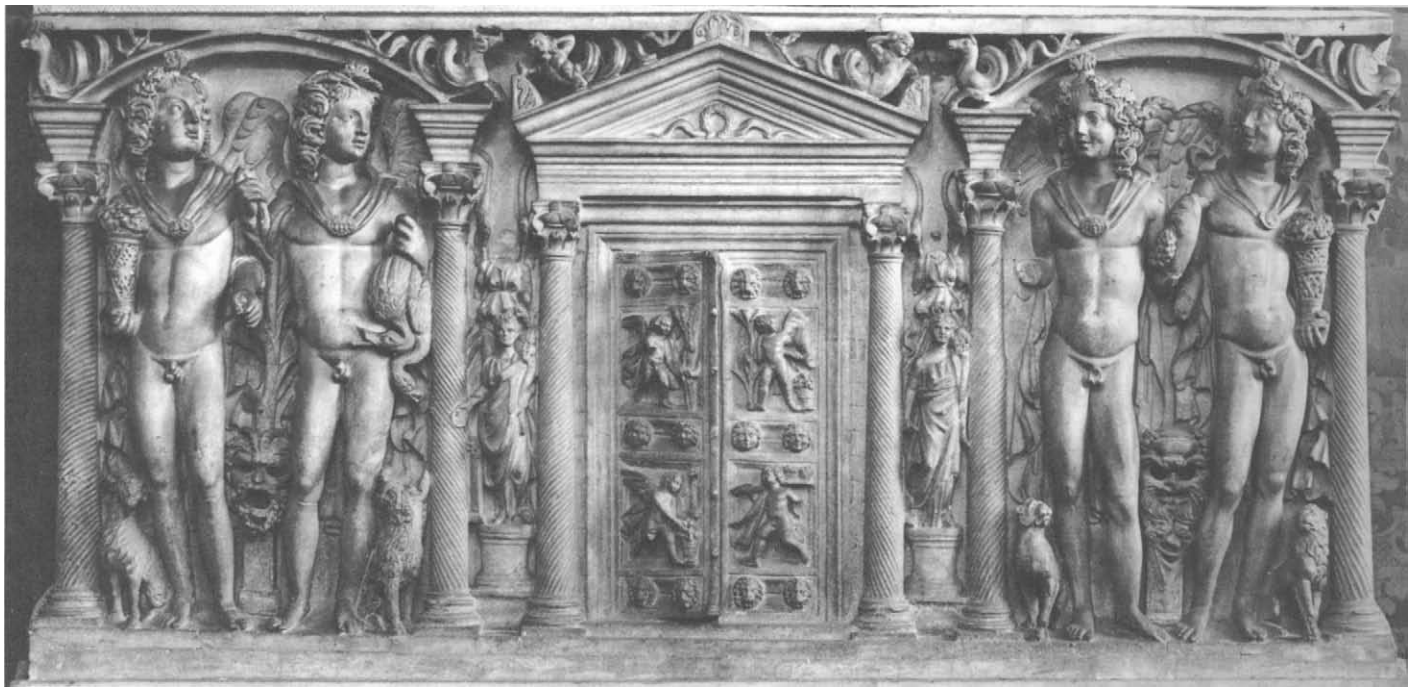


171 (above). *Child's Season sarcophagus*

Rome, S. Lorenzo in Panisperna. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 65.179

172. *Season sarcophagus*

Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 1185. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 73.261



the Museum's small example.³ The most striking difference is that the architectural forms in the Western variants are much less decorative. This is apparent if one compares the elaborately carved arcade in the Museum's Asiatic example [Cat. No. 22, fig. 166] with the plain arches with two recessed moldings on the child's Season sarcophagus. The columns are also plain, although the capitals are carved in a crude, spoon-shaped, foliate pattern, typical of Western examples. In the spandrels on the Museum's relief are four decorative masks and two pairs of winged Victories holding a swag on either side of the central design. The West also developed its own

iconographic forms, one of which is illustrated in our example—four Seasons flanking the opened tomb portal. While the portal is found on the sides of Asiatic sarcophagi, it is never placed in the center of the main panel as here, and is never left ajar.⁴ Furthermore, Seasons have thus far not been identified

3. M. Lawrence, "A Sarcophagus at Lanuvium," *AJA*, 32 (1928) 421 ff.; *idem*, "Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West," *ArtB*, 14 (1932) 103 ff.; *idem*, "Season Sarcophagi of the Architectural Type," *AJA*, 62 (1958) 273 ff.; *idem*, "The Velletri Sarcophagus," *AJA*, 69 (1965) 207–222, with earlier bibliography on this special example.

4. *Idem*, *AJA*, 62 (1958) 273–274; Morey, pls. 41, 55, 59, 67, 70, 71, 84.

on Asiatic sarcophagi, and male Seasons, as G. Hanfmann has demonstrated,⁵ are distinctly Roman in their iconography. The combination of the Seasons with the central tomb door is thus peculiarly Western in its iconography and is known to me from only three sarcophagi other than the one in the Metropolitan's collection (figs. 171, 172).⁶

The closest iconographic parallel with the Museum's relief is another child's sarcophagus found in the church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna in Rome (fig. 171), which is the legendary tomb of St. Bridget. It remained unknown to scholars until recently when it was discovered and published by M. Lawrence.⁷ While the S. Lorenzo example is clearly earlier in date by about fifty years than the Museum's sarcophagus and is of much finer quality, both illustrate the same five-arch compositional type, with the four young boy Seasons standing below the arches flanking the open tomb door. In the Museum's example, however, the tomb gable is separated from the arcade and is much higher and heavier in its proportions. In fact, in a manner that is reminiscent of Etruscan architecture, the entablature and gable take up about one half of the height of the tomb. The order of the Seasons is the same in both, using the usual arrangement of beginning with Spring on the far left and continuing in order. Here the similarities cease, for the Museum's Seasons are unwinged little boys who stand on individual pedestals, probably in imitation of statuary types. They also have seasonal animals at their feet. Moving from left to right in the Museum's panel, Spring holds a hare and a stalk partly broken off, and at his feet is a lion (?). To his right stands Summer holding a basket of flowers and a sickle. The missing animal has been restored (incorrectly) as a boar, undoubtedly in imitation of the one on the far right. Two youths holding baskets of fruit over their heads stand on either side of the tomb door decorated with four lions' heads, which serve as *apotropaea* to ward off evil spirits. To the right of the portal is Autumn holding grapes and a basket of fruit. At his feet, a dog looks up at him. Finally, in the last arcade on the right, Winter grasps a brace of ducks in one hand and a reed in the other. A wild boar is at his feet to the right. Each Season turns toward the adjacent one, and their chlamydes are fastened on the shoulder toward which their heads turn. The result is a rigidly symmetrical and centralized composition. The particular interest of this crudely executed piece, which may originally have been enriched by color, largely derives from the symbolic meaning of the images described.

Representations of the Seasons had been popular in Roman funerary art since the first century A.D., when female ones appear on tomb reliefs and urns.⁸ The earliest examples of male Seasons recognized by Hanfmann are on the arch of Trajan at

Beneventum (117–120).⁹ On sarcophagi, which usually represent a late phase of classical iconography, they appear in the early examples from the Hadrianic and early Antonine periods, as illustrated on the lid of our garland sarcophagus [Cat. No. 1, fig. 20]. Their use as a major motif, warranting a separate classification as a new sarcophagus type, apparently did not occur until the late Severan period, our Badminton sarcophagus [Cat. No. 17] being an early example. Various meanings have been associated with the Seasons in the context of funerary art.¹⁰ They may simply be interpreted as carriers of seasonal fruits of the earth to the tomb, insuring a peaceful rest and the blessings of nature. But by the late empire they were also used as a symbol of the eternal cycle of time. Pythagorean philosophy specifically associated them with the four ages of man. This idea is well illustrated in literature, as, for example, in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (XV, 197–213):¹¹

Then again, do you not see the year assuming four aspects, in imitation of our own lifetime? For in early spring it is tender and full of fresh life, just like a little child; at that time the herbage is bright, swelling with life, but as yet without strength and solidity, and fills the farmers with joyful expectation. Then all things are in bloom and the fertile fields run riot with their bright coloured flowers; but as yet there is no strength in the green foliage. After spring has passed, the year, grown more sturdy, passes into summer and becomes like a strong young man. For there is no harder time than this, none more abounding in rich, warm life. Then autumn comes, with its first flush of youth gone, but ripe and mellow, midway in time between youth and age, with sprinkled grey showing on the temples. And then comes aged winter, with faltering step and shivering, its locks all gone or hoary.

There is also some evidence that the Early Christian idea of the Seasons as symbols of resurrection had its foundation in pagan

5. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 21, 138.

6. The small sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna in Rome, the large relief in the Museo dei Conservatori, and the late and much destroyed sarcophagus from Ampurias, Spain. For illustrations and discussion of these pieces, see Lawrence, *AJA*, 62 (1958) 273 ff., pls. 72, 73, and pl. 78, fig. 29, for the sarcophagus from Ampurias. For further discussion of the fine relief in the Museo dei Conservatori, see Andreae in Helbig,⁴ II, no. 1451, and Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, 165, no. 336 (our fig. 172).

7. Lawrence, *AJA*, 62 (1958) 273 ff.

8. Hanfmann cites the earliest representations of the Seasons in funerary art of the first century A.D. See Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, II, no. 116, figs. 83, 84. Cf. Lawrence, *AJA*, 62 (1958) 277, n. 34.

9. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 171 ff., 216 ff., no. 307, figs. 109, 116.

10. For summary, see *ibid.*, 191–192. Cf. here above, p. 97.

11. Trans. by F. J. Miller (London, 1916).



173. *Herakles and the door to Hades, strigil sarcophagus*
Rome, Museo Nuovo, inv. 1394. Photo: German Arch. Inst.
36.5222

thought.¹² In this context, the Seasons may be seen as symbols of immortality and rebirth. Their association with Dionysus, the god of rebirth, on the Badminton sarcophagus is significant for these arguments.

But what is the meaning of the Seasons on the Museum's child's sarcophagus? Their relationship to the door to the after-life was surely originally significant, and it would seem that in this context they may also be interpreted as symbols of rebirth as well as of the passage of time. Purely on the visual level, they are a charming motif for a memorial. Bearing their gifts to the tomb, they will secure a peaceful repose for the deceased. In conjunction with a memorial for a child who has been deprived of his full life cycle, they are a particularly appropriate and poignant image.

The open tomb door also has a long tradition in the arts and carries several meanings.¹³ First of all, it is clearly intended to represent the door of the tomb itself. That it also symbolized the "door of death" through which the soul must pass into the beyond is made clear by other sarcophagi where, emerging from the door, Hermes Psychopompos,¹⁴ the guide of man also to the lower world, or Herakles with Cerberus¹⁵ are represented (fig. 173). The imagery of the Gate of Hades has a long literary history as well as one in the visual arts.¹⁶ In the Egyptian tomb chambers in the mastabas of the Old Kingdom a false door is shown, and we find it also in the Etruscan painted tombs.¹⁷ After being used in Roman art, it is not an image that remained popular in the medieval period, but it is significant to note its re-emergence in the Renaissance for Michelangelo's

design of 1505 for the tomb of Pope Julius II.¹⁸ Bernini especially exploits the illusionistic possibilities of the open door in his creation of the baroque tomb of Alexander VII.¹⁹ For modern art, the image was given new meaning by Rodin in his famous bronze *Gates of Hell*.²⁰

The style of the Museum's sarcophagus relief places it at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. While it is a careless work, as is often the case in children's sarcophagi, characteristic features of the time are evident. The drill is used in small, round dots (the "pointillistic" technique) in the hair, eyes, corners of the mouth, and other details. The young bodies of the Seasons lack organic articulation but do not yet

12. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 120–127, 190 ff., and Cumont, 489 ff.

13. See the thorough discussion by Lawrence, *AJA*, 62 (1958) 276 ff., with bibliography.

14. Sarcophagus in the Baptistry, Florence, Lawrence, *ArtB*, 14 (1932) 179, no. 10; Morey, fig. 99. Sarcophagus in Leningrad, Hermitage, Lawrence, *ArtB*, 14 (1932) 179, no. 14; Morey, fig. 90.

15. Strigil sarcophagus in the Museo dei Conservatori, Mustilli, pl. 58, no. 6; Helbig, *II*, no. 1737, dated ca. 180 (Andreae).

16. See the discussion by Lawrence, *AJA*, 62 (1958) 276 ff.

17. For example, see the Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia, M. Pallottino, *Etruscan Painting* (Geneva, 1952) fig. on p. 37.

18. E. Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II," *ArtB*, 19 (1937) 578–579.

19. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London, 1970) fig. 147.

20. A. E. Elsen, *Rodin's Gates of Hell* (Minneapolis, 1960).

show the squat proportions found in figures of the fourth century. The trend toward centralization and symmetry in the design has been traced throughout the third century on other sarcophagi in the Museum's collection (for example, cf. the Badminton sarcophagus [Cat. No. 17], or the medallion portrait sarcophagus [Cat. No. 19]). M. Lawrence has compared the figures of the Seasons in the Museum's child's sarcophagus to those found on one in Tunis from Ste Marie-du-Zit, which she also dates about 300.²¹ Hanfmann relates the geometric symmetry of our design to the style of the period of the Tetrarchs (293–312).²² The drill technique and body forms of the Metropolitan Seasons may further be compared with fragments of a Season sarcophagus of the strigil type in the Vigna Codini, Rome, which Hanfmann places between 300 and 310.²³ In the latter, the drill is used even more extensively, supporting a slightly earlier date for the Museum's monument. The problem of dating smaller-sized sculpture and those of crude workmanship emerges here. I would agree with M. Lawrence that the coarseness of style in our particular case is not due to a later date in the fourth century, but is in keeping with less careful workmanship usual on children's sarcophagi; for example, cf. the Metropolitan's small lead sarcophagus [Cat. No. 27].

The poor quality of Cat. No. 23 does not detract from its interest or significance. In the context of the evolution of

Roman Season sarcophagi, it shows the development away from the Greek mythological world still apparent in the Badminton sarcophagus to the symbolic realm of the developed Late Antique style. Its meaning, we have seen, must be read in terms of symbols and abstract patterns rather than visual and organic relationships. Indicative of this change is the placement of the Seasons now on pedestals, removed from the world of action. Furthermore, the compositional design as a whole reveals the increasing relationship of the Western and the Eastern parts of the empire in this late period. Within the Museum's collection, the child's sarcophagus, with the door to the after-world its central image, is a particularly appropriate conclusion to the evolution of this pagan form, which will soon have new life in Early Christian art.

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21. As quoted by Alexander, 46, n. 25.

22. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 52.

23. *Ibid.*, 182, no. 515, figs. 69, 70.



24. Strigil Sarcophagus of a Physician

48.76.1

First quarter of the fourth century.

From Ostia. Formerly in the collections of Balestra, Prince del Drago, and William Randolph Hearst. Gift of Ernest and Beata M. Brummer in memory of Joseph Brummer. In the Medieval Department.

Proconnesian marble. H. 1 ft. 9½ in. (0.55 m.); L. 7 ft. (2.14 m.); D. 1 ft. 11 in. (0.58 m.).

THE SARCOPHAGUS (fig. 174) is complete except for its lid. Only the front is decorated, with the back and sides left roughly worked with the pick. The front right corner has been broken off, and a hole drilled for a water spout, in modern times. The back of the sarcophagus has been broken and repaired in several places, as has the left corner of the frontal panel. Breaks in the right short side have been repaired with a modern clamp inserted into the rim. A crack runs the length of the lower frontal relief. Rectangular cuttings for attaching the original lid can be seen on the two short sides. The rear cutting on the left short side has been hollowed out and filled in with modern cement. The surface is worn and the edges chipped. The workmanship is cursory.

The trough is of the strigil type, which became popular in Rome during the later third century as a less expensive form of decoration and continued into the Christian period.¹ The frontal relief consists of two large, undulating fluted panels, which were originally intended to imitate wooden caskets. The figurative design is restricted to a small central panel (fig. 175) in which a physician is seated holding a scroll. His surgical

174. Strigil sarcophagus of a physician, Cat. No. 24

instruments, identifying the profession of the deceased, stand in his open instrument case upon a cabinet at the right.² While crudely carved, some of the instruments may be identified. On the left side various probes (*specilla*) are seen, which were used both as sounds in wounds and for applying ointments.³ On the right side a scalpel with a curved blade⁴ is clearly indicated as well as a narrower instrument, probably also a probe. The curved end is similar to the *ligula* type of *specillum*.⁵ His bleeding basin and scrolls⁶ are seen within the cabinet.

1. Strigil sarcophagi first appear in Rome in the first century A.D. See M. Gütschow, "Sarkophagstudien," *RM*, 46 (1931) 107 ff., pl. 13. Cf. Hanfmann, *Season Sarcophagus*, I, 26.
2. For a representation of a Roman surgical instrument case, see J. Scarborough, *Roman Medicine* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969) fig. 14, on a funerary stele of the second century A.D.; also see E. Berger, *Das Basler Arztrelief* (Basel, 1970) 77, fig. 98, n. 168, Hellenistic relief. For a discussion of similar cabinets or cupboards see Richter, *Furniture*, 115–116.
3. J. S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* (Oxford, 1907) 51 ff., particularly pls. XIV, XV, XVIII; Richter, *Bronzes*, nos. 1745–1753.
4. See Scarborough, *op. cit.*, fig. 36.
5. See Milne, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 1; *Instruments de chirurgie gréco-romains, propriété de la Fondation Hardt*, sale catalogue, June 13, 1961, Geneva, no. 4; cf. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1899) no. 2318.
6. F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom* (Leipzig, 1881) II, 346–347, no. 3127a, speak of loaves of bread or fruit; Wilpert identifies the round objects as pills (I, 11), but E. Petersen, "Der Sarkophag eines Arztes," *RM*, 15 (1900) 171 ff., and T. Birt, *Die*

A Greek inscription (fig. 175) runs across the top of the sarcophagus above the strigil design and on either side of the central relief. The former two distichs read, as transcribed by Marini in Visconti:

εἰ δὲ ἐπιτολήσῃ τις τούτῳ συνθαπτόμεν ἄλλον,
θήσει τῷ φίσκῳ τρεῖς δύο χειλιάδας.

“If anyone shall dare to bury another person along with this one, he shall pay to the treasury three times two thousand.” The first few letters have now been rubbed away but were complete when published in the eighteenth century.⁷ Along the sides of the frontal panel, the left in hexameter and the right in pentameter, the amount to be paid to the city is indicated, with a final admonishment:

πόσας χαλ Πόρτῳ καταθήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς
τείσοι ἀτασθαλῆς βλαψιτάφου κόλασιν.

Left: “This is what he shall pay to [the city of] Portus, but” Right: “He himself will endure the eternal punishment of the violator of graves.”⁸ The form of the inscription is a conventional one of penalty for attempting to put another body into the sarcophagus, apparently a common practice in late antiquity!⁹ The lost lid apparently gave the name of the physician.¹⁰

The central motif of the seated male figure reading from a scroll was used earlier on sarcophagi for the philosopher or poet with his Muse (figs. 51, 52).¹¹ This type was continued into Christian art for the religious teacher in the attitude of *praelegere* with his pupil or *catechumena* (figs. 168, 176).¹² No



175. Physician and inscription, detail of Cat. No. 24

“Über die griech. Grabschriften, welche Geldstrafen anordnen,” *Königsberger Studien*, 1 (1887) 103, 108 ff.

10. Petersen, *op. cit.*, 175, suggested that the lost beginning of the inscription is published in *CIG*, XIV, 942, but he could not find the stone to prove his suggestion.

11. For example, see sarcophagus in the Torlonia Museum of deceased with Muses and Sages, Wegner, 53–54, no. 133, pls. 60, 61, 62, dated ca. 250–260. Also see the Christian sarcophagus in the Palazzo Sanseverino, Rome, Wilpert, I, 9 ff., pl. II, 3 from the Severan period.

12. For example, Wilpert, I, 348, pl. CCLII, 3, sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, Rome; sarcophagus in the Palazzo Sanseverino al Corso, Rome, from the last third of the third century, Deichmann *et al.*, no. 994, pl. 159.

Buchrolle in der Kunst (Marburg, 1907) 262, identify them as scrolls, which also seems the most likely identification to me in the context of the relief.

7. Petersen, *op. cit.*, 175.

8. Trans. by Glanville Downey in a letter to the Medieval Department of the Metropolitan Museum, July 3, 1957.

9. For the threatened fines in tomb inscriptions, see G. Hirschfeld,

176.

Early Christian sarcophagus of teacher and pupil with Jonah and the Good Shepherd

Rome, S. Maria Antiqua. Photo: German Arch. Inst. 1549





177. Early Christian sarcophagus of Sabinus Rome, Lateran. Photo: Anderson 24184

parallel has been found for the use of the motif for a physician, but the scrolls also indicate that the surgeon was a professor of medicine, around whom pupils must have gathered to learn, as was the custom. He was apparently a Greek who settled in Italy, as were many Roman physicians, for he wears a Greek himation, and his coffin is inscribed in his native tongue.¹³

The style of the central panel suggests a date for the sarcophagus in the first quarter of the fourth century. The squat body proportions of the physician, the block-like head with its closely cropped hair and beard, and the lack of organic

structure of the body beneath the drapery may specifically be compared to figures from the Constantinian frieze on the arch of Constantine in Rome, completed in 315,¹⁴ as well as to other sarcophagi from the Constantinian period (306–337) (fig. 177).¹⁵ This cubic style, however, has its origin in the earlier period of the Tetrarchs (284–306).¹⁶ While strigil sarcophagi are also common in Early Christian art, there is no indication that our sarcophagus belonged to a Christian. Rather, it illustrates the continuation of the production of pagan sarcophagi alongside Christian ones into the fourth century.

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Sarcophagus: Petersen, *op. cit.*; T. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Marburg, 1907) 262, fig. 171; Reinach, III, 235; Wilpert, I, 11, fig. 3; C. Proskauer, “The Significance to Medical History of the Newly Discovered Fourth Century Fresco,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 34 (1958) 674, fig. 2; R. Calza and E. Nash, *Ostia* (Rome, 1960) 131, no. 111; Panofsky, 35, fig. 118; Richter, *Furniture*, 116, figs. 587–588; J. Scarborough, *Roman Medicine* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1969) pl. 12 where it is misdated as late Hellenistic; E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, “Late Antique Sarcophagi in Adrassus,” *Mélanges*, 486, pl. 159c.

13. For the position of doctors in the Roman world in general, see C. Proskauer, “The Significance to Medical History of the Newly Discovered Fourth Century Fresco,” *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 34 (1958) 672 ff.; British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life* (London, 1929) 180 ff.
14. H. P. L’Orange and A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin, 1939), especially the frieze on the north side, pls. 5, 14–17.
15. See J. Roosval, “Petrus-och Moses-gruppen bland Roms sarkofager,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, 3 (1932) 1–12. Note especially the style of the figures on the sarcophagus with scenes from the Old and New Testament, Lateran Museum, from the time of Constantine, fig. 3. Also note the squat figures on the sarcophagus in the Lateran with a *tabula inscriptionis* to Sabinus on the lid, which dates in the first quarter of the fourth century, Deichmann *et al.*, no. 6, pl. 2. (our fig. 177).
16. See H. P. L’Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Rome, 1965) 15–46.

LEAD SARCOPHAGI

ROMAN LEAD sarcophagi originated in the East, and their production was limited to the region of Phoenicia, although they were also imported by the West. They are made from lead sheets that were sand-cast and decorated with repetitive, small-scale, stamped designs. As such, they are difficult to date, but apparently they were used from the second to the fourth centuries. They represent a class of monuments mass-produced for a middle-class society that could not afford the more costly marble ones, and many were not meant to be seen and admired as were the decorated marble ones. They were often encased in outer coffins of wood or stone or concealed in rock-cut cavities in the floors of tombs. The earliest lead sarcophagus found in a dated context comes from the second half of the second century, but since the designs can be related to both Third Style Pompeian painting and to lead cistae found in Pompeii, they may well have an earlier origin. While most of the lead sarcophagi are pagan, some have Christian symbols, indicating that they were also made for Christian patrons. Furthermore, most lead sarcophagi have semicylindrical lids, a form that probably provided the model for a particular group of Early Christian sarcophagi. The pagan and Christian worlds again meet in the evolution of this industrialized funerary form.

The Museum is fortunate to possess two especially fine and complete examples [Cat. Nos. 25, 26] of the columnar type of lead coffin, which was undoubtedly influenced by architectural

forms already adopted for the decoration of marble coffins. The concept of a sarcophagus as a house or temple for the body is illustrated here. Identical stamps are used on the Museum's complete lead sarcophagi, although with varying patterns of Corinthian spiral columns, sphinxes, laurel tendrils, vines, dolphins, and kantharoi—all of which are popular Dionysiac motifs and can be traced back to the Greek Hellenistic world. The use of identical designs indicates that they must be contemporary and from the same workshop, probably a factory in Tyre to which at least fifty other coffins with similar designs have been related. The decoration of Cat. No. 26 has been done with special care, and the richness of the decoration suggests a date at the height of the development of these sarcophagi, probably the end of the second century before the designs declined in quality. Of interest in the Museum's collection for its special size is a small lead sarcophagus that must have been made for a baby [Cat. No. 27]. The simple decoration of fluted columns, kraters, and rosettes are stock patterns, but the piece must have been ordered with love.

General bibliography: J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971) 275 ff., with further bibliography.

For the relationship of the type to Early Christian sarcophagi: M. Lawrence, *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna* (New York, 1945) 29 ff.

25. Lead Sarcophagus of the columnar type

31.116

Second century.

Said to be from Syria. Gift of George D. Pratt.

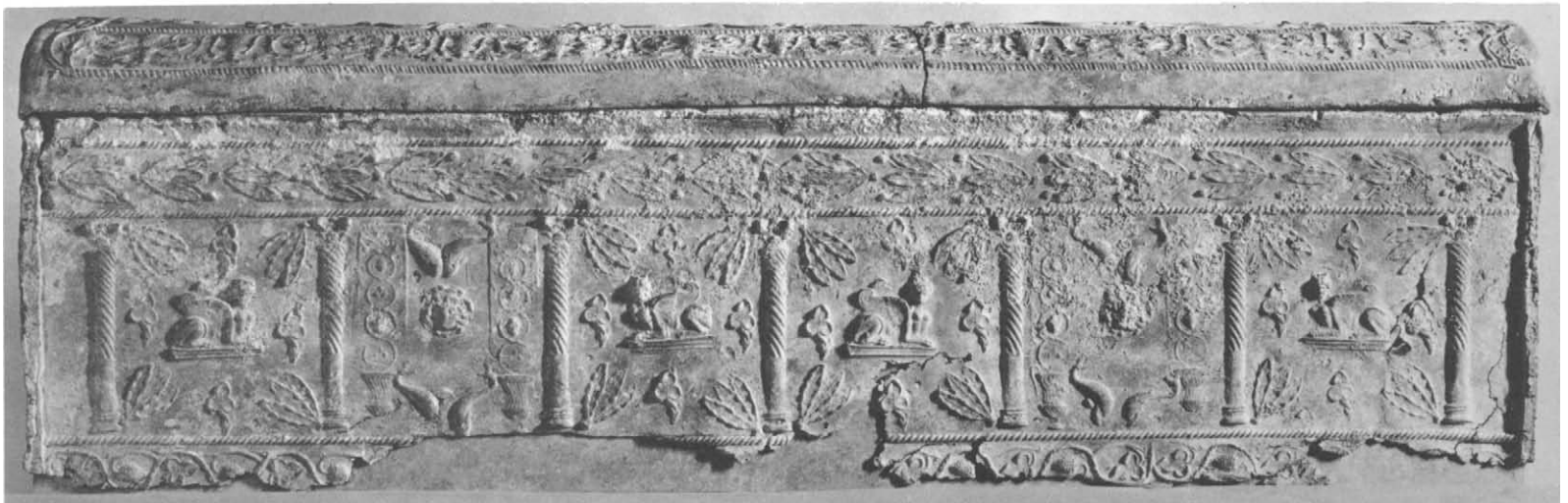
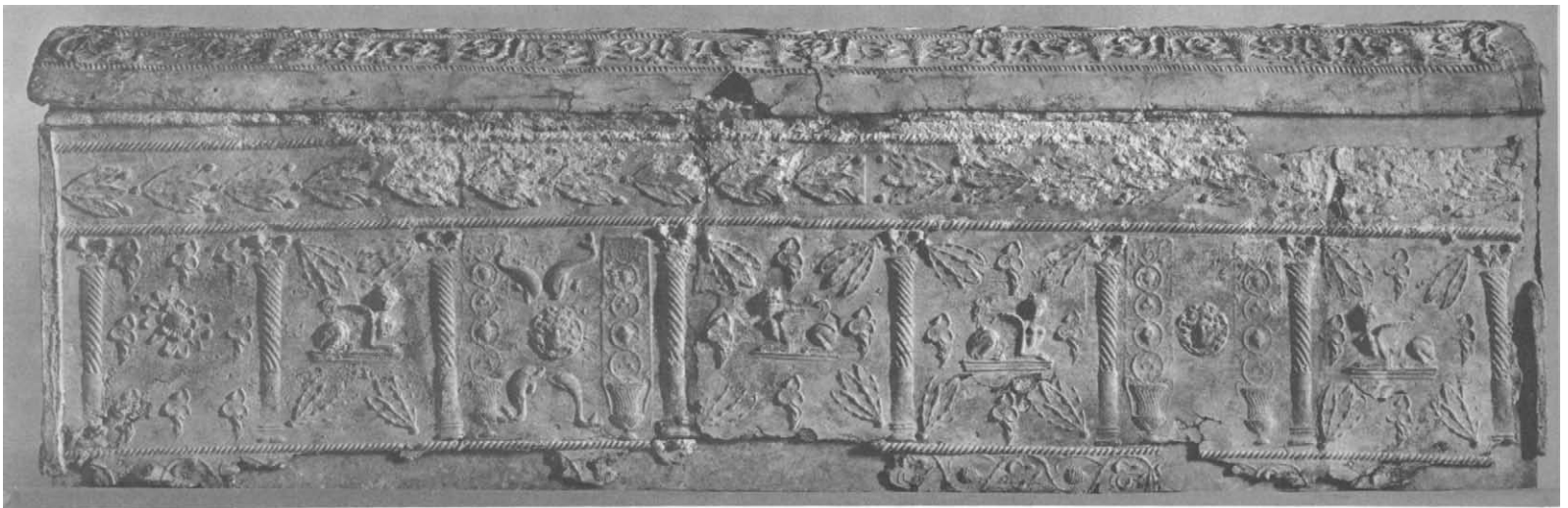
H. with lid 1 ft. 9 in. (0.53 m.); L. 5 ft. 8 in. (1.74 m.);
D. 1 ft. 4½ in. (0.42 m.).

THE LEAD, rectangular coffin is complete with its semicylindrical lid (figs. 178, 179). The sarcophagus is of the columnar type with decorations on all four sides as well as on the lid. The same patterns are repeated on the long sides, while the decoration of the two short ends is varied. Portions are missing

from the upper and lower edges of the coffin on both long sides. On the short side decorated with a temple façade (fig. 181) the lower section is missing from the base of the columns, and there is a gap on the right along the line of the soldered joint. On the opposite short side with a spoked pattern (fig. 182), a small section of the left corner is missing, and there is again a gap on the right where the two sides of the box were joined. A crack runs through the center of the lid, and a small section is missing. The surface of the coffin suffers from corrosion.

The long sides of the coffin are decorated with rows of Corinthian columns, which are spirally fluted in the upper

178, 179. *Lead sarcophagus, long sides, Cat. No. 25*





180. Section of the lid of Cat. No. 25

two-thirds of their shafts. They divide one side into six bays and the other into seven. Above the colonnade is a decorative band of laurel leaves with berries, and below a band of grape vines is seen, a motif that on other preserved lead sarcophagi has usually been destroyed. Both horizontal bands are set off by a twisted rope design that pleasingly links the eye with the spiral fluting of the colonnade. In the spaces between the columns three different patterns occur: a crouching sphinx set in a frame of alternating laurel and grape leaves; a Medusa head framed by a pair of jumping dolphins and two kantharoi; and a filled rosette framed by eight trefoil vine sprigs. The last design occurs only once, to fill the seventh bay, while the other two patterns are repeated alternately in the remaining twelve bays.

The top of the curved lid (fig. 180) is decorated with curving vine tendrils, which cross to form a series of lozenges. The spaces between are filled with rosettes and petaled flowers. The central design is framed by a horizontal band composed of vine tendrils, kantharoi, birds, and rosettes.

On the two short ends of the sarcophagus, two different designs are used. One side employs the motif of a temple façade (fig. 181) with four columns and a pediment broken by an arch. The horizontal entablature is carried around it, a feature that has been cited as particularly characteristic of Syrian architecture during the Antonine period. The center of the arch contains a Medusa head, and the entablature and raking cornice decoration are filled with laurel leaves. The Corinthian columns are similar to those used on the long sides of the cof-

fin, as are the kantharoi with sprouting vines that fill the lateral intercolumniations. Above the pediment five trifoliate vine sprigs decorate the space. On the opposite short end of the coffin (fig. 182), a pattern of four crossing, twisted spokes whose ends are decorated with the same trifoliate vine pattern is used. This stamp is also repeated in the eight spaces between the spokes. The center of the wheel is decorated with the Medusa stamp.

Almost all these figurative designs can be traced back to the Greek Hellenistic world and are part of a stock artistic vocabulary available to Greco-Roman artists in both the East and the West.¹ Many of these motifs, such as the vine, kantharoi, and the dolphin, may be associated with the worship of Dionysus. The sphinx, like the griffin, has an apotropaic function as a friendly guardian of the tomb.² The rosette is a common design on Syrian tombs.³ While these single elements are stereotyped and repeated with little regard for their original meaning in the mechanized process of fabrication, nevertheless often a high quality of design is achieved that is especially pleasing

1. R. P. René Mouterde, "Divinités et symboles sur les sarcophages de plomb," *MéUSJ*, 21 (1937) 201–212; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–1923)* (Paris, 1926) 150; Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 87 ff.; II, 138 ff. and particularly 152; A. Bertin, "Les Sarcophages en plomb syriens au Musée du Louvre," *RA* (1974) 43–82.
2. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 90, n. 3.
3. C. Alexander, "A Lead Sarcophagus from Syria," *BMMA*, 27 (1932) 156, n. 5; M. Avi-Yonah, "Three Lead Coffins from Palestine," *JHS*, 50 (1930) 303.

to the eye and has caused some to compare the lead columnar coffins to Third Style wall painting at Pompeii.⁴

A secure chronology for the lead sarcophagi has not yet been established. A. Müfid has attempted to divide the series into three groups on the basis of their decorative patterns.⁵ He separates a “simple” group of columnar sarcophagi that use linear and geometric patterns and single figures of men and animals (Group A) from a “rich” group of columnar sarcophagi that are characterized by an abundant filling of the spaces with foliage, kantharoi, sphinxes, and temple façades, such as in our Museum examples (Group C). His middle Group B concentrates upon geometric decorations, often in crossing patterns. E. von Mercklin, however, questioned this strict decorative division, pointing out the overlapping of motifs on some sarcophagi.⁶ He uses the Museum’s piece as an example where linear, geometric patterns such as the spokes used on the short side are intermingled with the rich use of vine designs. One thus must conclude with Mercklin that the lead sarcophagi

cannot be so strictly divided chronologically into decorative groups, although it seems probable that the simpler coffins using the linear designs are earlier than the more elaborate ones.

An attempt at a chronological sequence for the lead sarcophagi from Palestine has been made by M. Avi-Yonah, who divides the series into four workshop groups.⁷ His sequence follows in general an evolution of forms from the simple to the more complex, and from high quality to a degeneration of motifs. While there are pitfalls in these hypotheses, until further dated evidence is available and the lead sarcophagi studied as a whole, his general conclusions seem the most reasonable.

4. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 152.

5. Müfid, 387 ff.

6. E. von Mercklin, “Untersuchungen zu den antiken Bleisarkophagen,” *Berytus*, 3 (1936) 51–75; 5 (1938) 27 ff.; 6 (1939–1941) 27–46.

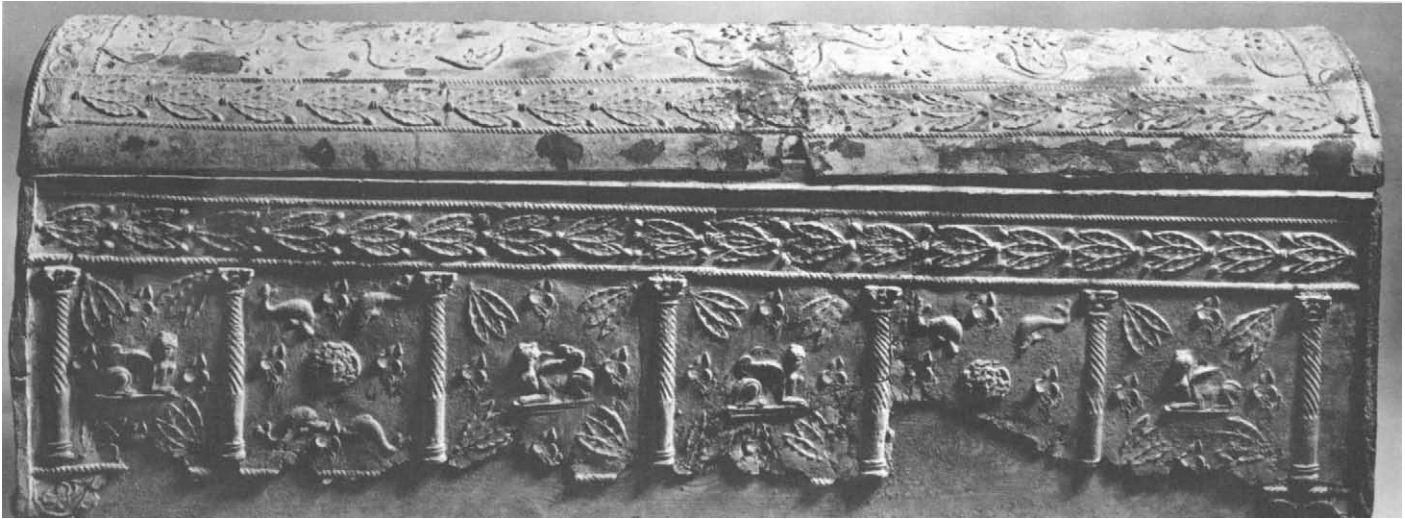
7. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 138 ff.

181. *Short side, with temple façade, of Cat. No. 25*



182. *Short side, with spoked pattern, of Cat. No. 25*





183. Lead sarcophagus from Tyre
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 55.85

The Museum's sarcophagus is related to a workshop in southern Phoenicia, probably at Tyre, which was a particularly prolific one. At least fifty coffins have been associated with it that share the characteristic columnar design with bands of winding vines and laurel and the short sides with a temple front and a spoked geometric design (fig. 183).⁸ The factory apparently existed for a long period of time from the second century through the end of the third or the early fourth. Avi-Yonah would place the Museum's example roughly in the middle of the series and would date it at the turn of the second to the third century. The richness of the varied patterns and

the still high quality of the whole decorative design are arguments that may be used to place the Museum's coffin at this time during the height of the development of the lead series.

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8. For comparisons with the Museum's sarcophagus, see particularly: for long sides, sarcophagi in Istanbul, Müfid, figs. 24, 29, 31, 36, 39; for lid, *ibid.*, 32, 41; and lids in Stuttgart and Hildesheim, Mercklin, *Berytus*, 3 (1936) pls. xi, 5 and xiv, 1; for short side with temple façade, Mercklin, *Berytus*, 5 (1938) pl. viii, sarcophagi in Copenhagen (fig. 1) and Helsingborg (fig. 2); for short side with spoke design, sarcophagus in Istanbul, Müfid, fig. 46.

Belonging to the same series are also: fragments of coffins in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, acc. nos. 96.5a,b; 96.6–10 ("Erwerbungen des Museum of Fine Arts in Boston im Jahre 1896," *AA*, 12 [1897] 73; Alexander, *BMMA*, 27 [1932] 155–156; Müfid, 427; Mercklin, *Berytus*, 6 [1939–1941] 45, 60, pls. ix, 3, x, 2, 4; H. G. Buch-

holz, "Das Blei in der mykenischen Kultur und in der bronzezeitlichen Metallurgie Zyperns," *JdI*, 87 [1972] 13, n. 89); complete coffin in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, acc. no. 41.2 (G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* [Cambridge, Mass., 1956] no. 32, pl. 20); complete coffin in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, acc. no. 55.85 (D. K. Hill, "A Roman Lead Sarcophagus," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, 23, 1 [October 1970]; our fig. 183); complete coffin in the Louvre, Bertin, *op. cit.*, 69, figs. 15–20 (Inv. AO 17268); and fragment in the Louvre, *ibid.*, 59, fig. 2 (Inv. AO 24441), 78, fig. 27 (Inv. AO 24445), 80, figs. 28–29 (Inv. AO 24445B).

26. Lead Sarcophagus of the columnar type

65.148

Second century.

Gift of the Kevorkian Foundation.

H. with lid 1 ft. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (0.48 m.); L. 5 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (1.62 m.);
D. 1 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.44 m.).

THE RECTANGULAR lead sarcophagus is complete with its semicylindrical lid (fig. 184) and forms a pair with the Museum's other columnar lead example [Cat. No. 25]. The same series of stamped decorations are used in both with minor variations. Since one assumes that each workshop in a particular area had a monopoly on certain ornamental designs, one can conclude that both coffins must have been made in the same factory in southern Phoenicia at approximately the same time.¹ The sarcophagus under discussion is in better condition than Cat. No. 25, with its ancient patina undisturbed by corrosion. The lower decorative band on the two long sides, however, is completely missing, and on one long side a large central section of the two central bays and small portions of the two bays on the right are also missing. On the opposite long side (fig. 184), the second bay from the left is badly damaged, and a piece is missing from the second bay at the right. The lid has a vertical crack running through the center section of

one side of the laurel border. The lower edges of the two ends of the coffin are broken away. The excellent surface preservation, the relative completeness of the coffin, and the careful execution of the design as a whole give this sarcophagus a special place within the lead series.

In discussing the decorative motifs, only the differences from Cat. No. 25 will be mentioned here.² The most striking variation in the columnar design of the long sides is that the craftsman of Cat. No. 26 has carefully avoided a discrepancy in the number of bays. He has planned his design as a whole before beginning and adheres to six intercolumniations on each side, alternating the sphinx pattern with the Medusa head, not using the odd rosette stamp.

The design of the lid (fig. 185) shows further variations. While the same basic pattern of three central lozenges is used across the center, the decorative motifs are both more simplified and more geometric in character. In place of the free, winding pattern of the grapevine used in Cat. No. 25, the tendrils are arranged in a disciplined and balanced band. Furthermore, the rosette stamp is used throughout to fill the interven-

1. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 138.

2. For discussion with bibliography on lead sarcophagi, see above, pp. 143 ff.

184. Lead sarcophagus, long side, Cat. No. 26





185.
Lid of Cat. No. 26



186 (left).
*Short side, with temple façade, of
Cat. No. 26*

187.
*Short side, with spoked pattern, of
Cat. No. 26*

ing spaces, rather than a varied pattern with petaled flowers. A border of laurel leaves such as that used on the long sides frames the central lozenge design. The whole lid may be compared to one in Istanbul, which would appear to be earlier in the columnar lead series on the basis of its more linear and less complicated design.³

On the two short sides of the coffin the same temple façade (fig. 186) and spoked wheel pattern (fig. 187) are used, with some variations in the individual stamps. The temple façade differs from that of Cat. No. 25 by the use of vertically fluted

columns rather than spiral ones and by the lack of filling ornament in the pediment.⁴ In the two lateral bays a filling ornament of two laurel leaves and a trifoliate vine design is used. Above the pediment the space is filled with three kantharoi and four vine leaves. On the opposite short side the rosette stamp is used for the center of the spoked wheel in place of the Medusa head found on Cat. No. 25. The same rosette stamp is employed for the decoration of the ends of each spoke rather than the trifoliate vine design. The latter, however, does occur in the spaces between the spokes.⁵

These variations in the pattern, although slight, suggest that Cat. No. 26 may be slightly earlier in date than the more ornate and less carefully executed coffin previously discussed. Taken together, however, they do reveal the high standards that could be achieved in a standardized and mass-produced type of lead sarcophagus during the height of their artistic evolution, probably toward the end of the second century.⁶

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"Annual Report," *BMTA*, 25 (1966–1967) 82.

3. Müfid, 397 ff., no. 1, fig. 23, Inv. 1143; also cf. lid in the Louvre, A. Bertin, "Les Sarcophages en plomb syriens au Musée du Louvre," *RA* (1974) 79, fig. 26 (Inv. AO 24445).

4. Müfid, 403, no. 20, fig. 44, Inv. 5264; also cf. fragments in the Louvre, Bertin, *op. cit.*, 81, fig. 30 (Inv. AO 24445C), and 82, fig. 31 (Inv. AO 24445D).

5. Müfid, 397, no. 1, fig. 21, Inv. 1143; 403, no. 21, fig. 45, Inv. 1146.

6. For the use of lead sarcophagi into the fifth century, see E. von Mercklin, "Ein altchristlicher Bleisarkophag mit Reliefschmuck im Thermenmuseum zu Rom," *Berytus*, 11 (1954–1955) 67 ff.

27. Child's Lead Sarcophagus

61.206

Second to fourth centuries.

Gift of Alvah L. Miller. Said by donor to have been given to him by a Scotsman living in Jordan.

H. with lid $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (0.14 m.); L. 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (0.36 m.); D. 7 in. (0.18 m.).



188. *Child's lead sarcophagus, Cat. No. 27*

THE SMALL size of the complete rectangular sarcophagus with its semicylindrical lid (fig. 188) identifies it as a child's coffin. The lower edge of the lid is missing from one of the long sides, and a small fragment is broken away from the edge of the lid on one of its short sides. There is a small hole in the floor of the coffin itself. The surface is incrustated, but otherwise it is in good condition.

The decoration of the box may be associated with the columnar series of lead sarcophagi of a less elaborate type previously discussed.¹ The principal motif used on all four sides of the coffin as well as on the lid is an Ionic column, the capital of which is decorated with a garland swag. The column is repeated three times on each of the longer sides, dividing the space into two central bays that are each filled with a single large kantharos. The two lateral spaces are filled with two flat rosettes, placed one above the other, and on one of the long sides two further rosettes are added on either side of the central column. Two columns frame each of the short sides with two rosettes between. On the lid, the rectangular space is divided by two crossing, twisted cables with the angles filled with columns, six in all, and twelve rosettes arranged in rows of three.

Relatively few children's sarcophagi are preserved, making this one of special interest.² Children's coffins as a whole tend to be cruder in their workmanship, which makes their dating especially uncertain.³ While no exact parallel has been found for the complete design of the Museum's coffin, the individual motifs may be traced to the port areas of Tyre and Sidon. The use of a kantharos as a filling motif within a colonnade may be found, for example, on the short side of an adult sarcophagus from Mahalib, near Tyre, now in the National Museum in Beirut.⁴ The particular flat rosette stamp may further be compared with those used on the cover of a lead sarcophagus from Sidon, also in the Beirut museum.⁵ While crudely worked, the Museum's little lead sarcophagus brings us in contact with ancient family life in this region. A young couple must have mourned the loss of their infant when they bought the small, crude memorial for his interment.

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1. See above, Cat. Nos. 25, 26, pp. 143 ff.
2. Cf., for example, the children's sarcophagi in the National Museum in Beirut, Chéhab, 347, no. 18, pl. XLV; no. 22, with plate. Also the child's sarcophagus at Yajur, near Haifa, Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 93, no. 5, pl. LVI.
3. Cf. the Museum's marble child's Season sarcophagus [Cat. No. 23].
4. Chéhab, 339, no. 1, pl. XLI, 1d.
5. *Ibid.*, 343, no. 8, pl. XLII.

28. Short Side of a Lead Sarcophagus

61.36

Second to third centuries.

Gift of Dr. Ernest Harms.

H. 1 ft. 3¼ in. (0.39 m.); W. 1 ft. 10 in. (0.56 m.).

THE RECTANGULAR lead plaque (fig. 189) must have formed the short side of a sarcophagus. The design is worn, and the edges are bent. There is a small hole at the lower right center.

The principal design consists of two lozenges set in squares divided by a twisted cord pattern placed within a bead and reel frame. The space between each of the four angles within each square is filled with a nude bust of a young man, facing left, eight in all. In the center of each lozenge is a dancing winged Eros, stepping to the right with his head turned back to the left. In his outstretched hand he holds a round pyxis(?).¹ A narrow cloak flutters down across his shoulders.

For the general group of lead sarcophagi to which the Museum's end panel must belong, one may compare sarcophagi from A. Müfid's Group B, which are characterized by their simple, linear decoration and use of single figures, animals, or busts as filling ornaments.² The group may go back as early as the first half of the second century and continued at least

into the third. It should be stressed, however, that there is little external evidence for the dating of the lead series, and stamped patterns could have continued in use for a long period of time.

The specific motif of the dancing Eros can be found on a lead sarcophagus from Beirut, now in the National Museum, which probably dates in the first part of the third century.³ The same stamp is also found on a lead sarcophagus in Hamburg, which M. Chéhab would place earlier, in the second century.⁴ The stamp does not apparently occur on the linear group of lead sarcophagi from Jerusalem.⁵ It may be then that our piece comes from a workshop in Syria, in the area of Beirut, which was active in the second and early third centuries. The combination of motifs including Eros, nude busts, and a bead and reel design brings us in contact again with the living Greek Hellenistic tradition,⁶ whose rich storehouse of motifs still provided the artisans of the later Eastern Roman world with the majority of their designs for a mass-produced artifact.

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189. Short side of a lead sarcophagus, Cat. No. 28



1. E. von Mercklin, "Untersuchungen zu den antiken Bleisarkophagen," *Berytus*, 3 (1936) 57, n. 27, pl. ix,5.
2. Müfid, 391 ff. Note particularly the sarcophagus in Istanbul, Inv. 1147, from Lebanon, figs. 6–8, which Müfid would date in the first half of the second century, although his group continues into the third.
3. Mercklin, *op. cit.*; R. P. René Mousterde, "Sarcophages de plomb trouvés en Syrie," *Syria*, 10 (1929) 243 ff., 249, pl. xlv,2; Chéhab, pl. xlv, no. 15a, sarcophagus of Claudia Procla.
4. Chéhab, pl. ix,3.
5. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, 96 ff., nos. 8, 11, pls. lviii, lix, and pp. 149–150, his Class "C," connected with a factory in Jerusalem.
6. For the figure of Eros, see particularly Mousterde, *op. cit.*, 248.

Appendix: Chronological Table

MARBLE SARCOPHAGI

CAT. NO.	ACC. NO.	
		Early Antonine (second quarter of the second century)
1	90.12	Garland, 140–150
		Mid-Antonine (third quarter of the second century)
3	24.97.13	Endymion and Selene (lid missing), 150–160
6	49.101.16	Eros with a Torch (fragment)
7	28.57.8a–d	Orestes (joining fragments of front, corner, lid, and two short sides), 150–165
8	20.187	Dying Meleager (fragment)
18	26.60.47a,b	Battle of Romans and Gauls (fragments, two barbarian heads, one with torso, belonging to the sarcophagus in the Museo Nuovo, Rome), 160–180
9	18.145.41	Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes (corner fragment), 160–180
		Late Antonine (last quarter of the second century)
10	18.145.56	Herakles (corner fragment), 170–180
11	18.145.50	Mars and Rhea Silvia (corner fragment)
		Early Severan (first quarter of the third century)
4	47.100.4	Endymion and Selene (<i>lenos</i> type), 190–210
20	27.122.31	Female Portrait Medallion (fragment), 190–210
21	18.145.52	Marriage (fragment)
12	16.174.49	Nereid (?) (fragment, head and torso of female figure), 200–235
19	56.145	Flying Amorini Holding Portrait Medallion (lid missing), time of Caracalla (211–217)
15	28.57.3	Indian Triumph of Dionysus (corner fragment)
16	18.145.57	Indian Triumph of Dionysus (fragment, barbarian head)
14	26.60.86	Eros Mounted on a Horse (lid fragment), first half of the third century
2	70.1	Garland, Proconnesian type (Eastern), first half of the third century
		Late Severan (second quarter of the third century)
13	15.170; 27.122.19a,b	Apollo and Marsyas (corner fragment), 210–230
17	55.11.5	Triumph of Dionysus and the Seasons (lid missing), 200–235
5	10.104	Contest of the Muses and Sirens (lid missing)
22	18.108	Poet-Philosopher, Sidamara type (fragment), 250–260
		Late Antique (second half of the third and the fourth centuries)
23	18.145.51	Child's Season sarcophagus, columnar type (fragmentary frontal panel), 290–300
24	48.76.1	Physician, strigil type (lid missing), first quarter of the fourth century

LEAD SARCOPHAGI

		Second to fourth centuries
25	31.116	Columnar type, second century
26	65.148	Columnar type, second century
27	61.206	Child's sarcophagus, second to fourth centuries
28	61.36	Fragment with bust motif, second to third centuries